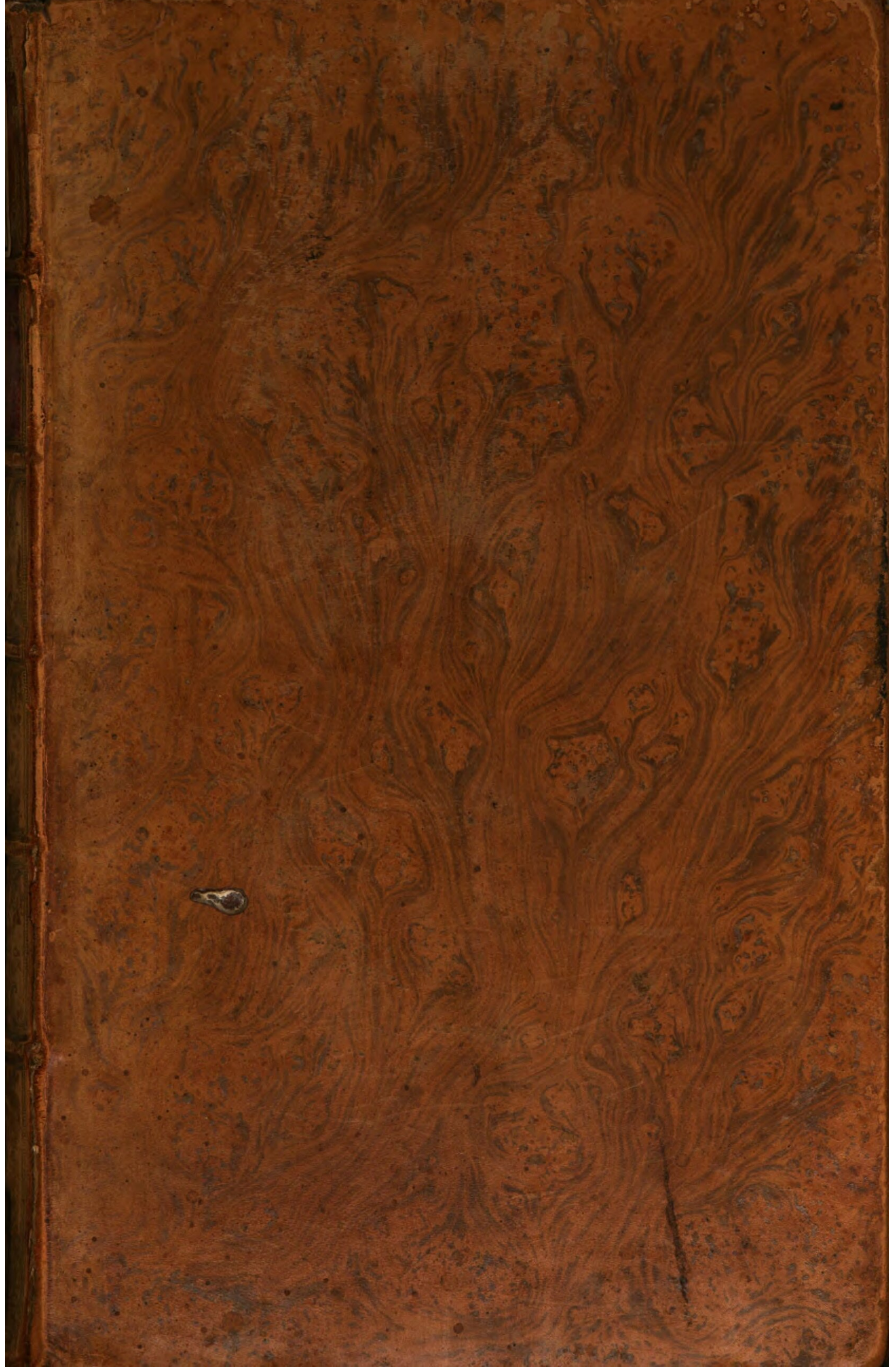




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M A R Y
QUEEN OF SCOTS
VINDICATED.

By JOHN WHITAKER, B.D.

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF MANCHESTER;

AND

RECTOR OF RUAN-LANYHORNE, CORNWALL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

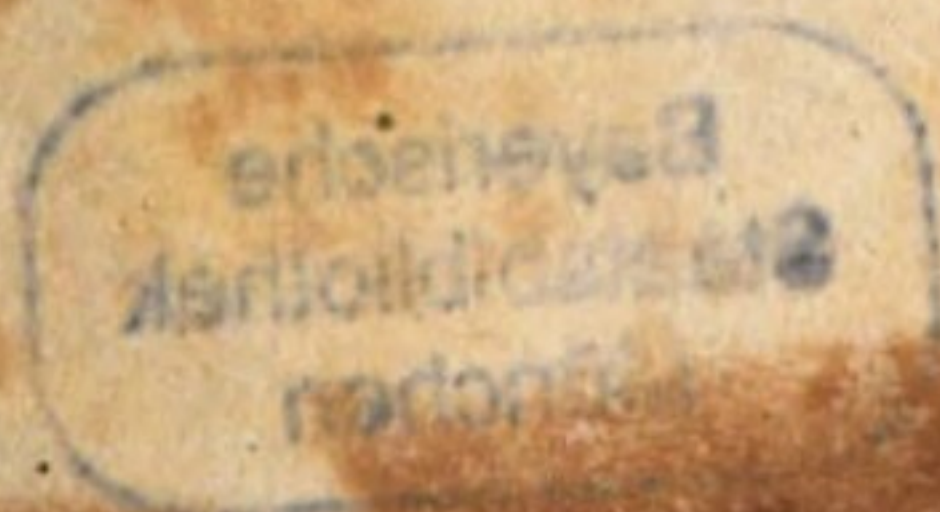
THE SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED AND CORRECTED.

V O L. II.

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M A R Y
QUEEN OF SCOTS
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CHAPTER THE FIRST.

§ I.

HAVING now gone over the EXTERNAL evidence, for the forgery of the Letters, Contracts, and Sonnets; I address myself to the examination of the INTERNAL. This I hope to place equally, in some new points of view. I shall be the better able to do so, by having examined the other before. I shall, therefore, present my reader with a copy of the Sonnets, Letters, and Contracts; in the languages, in which they were originally published. To each of them I shall subjoin a variety of remarks, in order to point out the numerous signatures of forgery, in the belly of them. By this mode of inquisition, a new train of witnesses will appear at the bar before us. These

will depose to circumstances, of a very different nature from all that we have seen before. But they will completely coincide with them. They will be equally decisive evidences of the forgery, I think. And they will superadd, I trust, a second demonstration to the first.

I shall print the Letters and Sonnets, from Mr. Goodall's edition of them. It is a standard one in itself. He had consulted the original editions, in making it*. But I shall note a few variations in Mr. Anderson's copy, which I think to be of moment. And, as Mr. Goodall first formed the paragraphs in some of the Letters, and first numbered the divisions in the Sonnets; I shall so far improve upon his plan, as to form paragraphs in all the Letters and Contracts; to break the divisions into stanzas in the Sonnets, for the more commodious reading of them; and to number the paragraphs in the Letters, for the facility of referring to them. The last is peculiarly requisite to be done, in the first of the Letters. This runs out into all the length, of one of Richardson's conversational epistles. Only there is an infinite difference between the two, in every other respect. Richardson's are strikingly characteristick; full of spirit, and pregnant with intelligence. But this carries no light of intelligence, and contains no sparks of spirit, within it. It is one complete violation of character, from the beginning to the end of it.

* Goodall, i. 39.

§ II.

LETTER THE FIRST (1).

I.—“ (2) Being departit from the place quhair
 “ I left my hart (3), it is esie to be judgeit quhat
 “ was my countenance, séing that I was evin als
 “ mekle as (4) ane body without ane hart: quhilk
 “ was the occasioun, that quhile denner-tyme (5)
 “ I held”

I.—“ (2) Posteaquam ab eo loco discessi ubi
 “ reliqueram cor meum (3), facilis est conjectura
 “ qui meus fuerit vultus, cùm planè perinde essem
 “ atque (4) corpus sine corde: ea fuit causa, cur
 “ toto prandii tempore (5) neque contulerim”

I.—“ (2) Estant partie du lieu ou j'avoye laissée
 “ mon cœur (3), il se peut aisement juger quelle
 “ estoit ma contenance, veu ce que peut (4) un
 “ corps sans cœur: qui a esté cause, que jusques
 “ a la disnée (5) je n'ay pas tenue”

(1) This Letter pretends to be written, with the three next, on Jan. 24—26th, 1567, and from Glasgow*.

(2) The Queen left Edinburgh on Jan. 21, attended by Huntly and BOTHWELL. These peers went with her to Kalendar, a seat of Lord Living-

* Rebel Journal in App. No. x.

ston's near Falkirk. And on Jan. 23 she went on to Glasgow, while they returned to Edinburgh*.

(3) Kalendar, where she and Bothwell parted that morning.

(4) This emphatical word "evin," Scotch, is rendered in Latin by "planè," which carries a different meaning, and in the French by nothing at all. But the subsequent words "als mekle as," truly rendered in Latin "perinde atque," are turned in French into "ce que peut." This, says Dr. Robertson very justly, "is by no means a "translation" of the Latin †. A translation, however, it undoubtedly is of the Scotch; and, as the translator himself assures us, through the medium of this or another copy in Latin. Of *this* it apparently is not. It is, therefore, of some other. And this other had rendered the words "als mekle as," by *quantum potuit*, I suppose; interpreting the words to mean *as much as could be*, and so giving them an import much more emphatical, than "perinde atque."

(5) "Jusques a la disnée," says Dr. Robertson, "is not a translation of "toto prandii tempore;" "the Scottish translation "quhile denner-tyme," "expresses the sense of the French more properly; "for anciently *quhile* signified *until*, as well as "during ‡." Dr. Robertson has here confounded his own ideas. If *quhile* "anciently signified *until*, "as well as *during*;" then the expression "quhile

* Rebel Journal in App. No. x, † Diff. 32. ‡ Ibid.

"denner-

“denner-tyme,” may as properly be rendered “jusques a la disnée,” as “toto prandii tempore;” and the Scotch cannot “express the sense of the French, more properly” than the Latin. This is plain, from the Doctor’s own principles. And the very reason adduced by himself, turns with forcibleness against him.

But, though *qubile* was sometimes used by the Scots formerly for *until*, as well as *during*; yet ordinarily it must have signified the latter only. It is merely the English *while*, and must therefore have ordinarily borne the signification of it. And *qubill* or *qubil*, which answer to our English *till* or *until*, must consequently import the same as they generally. Yet the Scotch Detection of Buchanan uses *qubill* for *while* in the first part of it, *qubile* for *while* in the last, and even *qubile* for *until* in one place †. Ordinarily, however, and with the natural precision, *qubill* or *qubil* imported *until*, and *qubile* signified *during*. So, in the Confessions at the end of the Detection, one man says, “I knew nathing *qubill* I hard the blast of powder;” and efter yis he come hame, lay down in his bed, *qubil* M. George Haket come ‡. So also the Detection itself speaks of “ane *qubyle*,” “all this *qubyle*,” and “the *qubyle* ||.” But the Letters, as containing Lethington’s language probably, are steadily and uniformly right. In the present,

† P. 4, 7, 12, 23, 35, and 45, *qubill* for *while*; 70, 73, 74, and 77, *qubile* for *while*; and 182, *qubile* for *until*. Anderson, ii. ‡ Ibid. ii. 162. || P. 14 and 31, 16 and 34, and 63.

the King is said to deny something, "*qubill* I schew
 " him the verray wordis*." She had worked, Mary
 is made to say, "*qubill* it was twa houris upon this
 " bracelet†." Bothwell " will never be blyth,"
 says Livingston, "*qubill* he fé zow agane." Mary
 vows fidelity to Bothwell "*qubill* deith," and
 speaks of something that " fall not part furth of
 " my bosum, *qubill* yat mariage of our bodyis be
 " made in publikt." She is likewise requested by
 the King, she says, " to remane upon him *qubil*
 " uther morne‡." And here she tells us, with the
 requisite distinctiveness in the orthography and in
 the meaning, that "*qubile* denner-tyme" she talk-
 ed to nobody.

This ascertains sufficiently the true import of
 the word here. Mary is represented as leaving
 Bothwell that morning with a sorrowful heart, as
 journeying to dinner with a discontented counte-
 nance, and even as eating her dinner in fullen
 silence. Where she dined, does not appear. Kil-
 fyth most probably was the place, about 27 miles
 from Kalendar through Stirling, and 15 from
 Glasgow. There she was so apparently chagrined
 all the time of dinner, that none of the gentlemen
 and ladies in the town or neighbourhood, would
 venture into the room to pay their respects of duty
 to her, while she was dining.

This passage, therefore, overthrows the very
 point for which Dr. Robertson produces it. *Qubile*
 very plainly does *not* signify *until*. The word

* Sect. xi.
 and Letter viii. Sect. iii.

† Sect. xxiii.

‡ Sect. xxii and xxiv,

for that, in these letters, is *qubill* or *qubil*. *Qubile* signifies here, as *while* does among ourselves, only *during*. The Latin “*toto prandii tempore*” is exactly correspondent, to the Scotch “*quhile den-ner-tyme*.” The French “*jusques a la disnée*” is greatly deviating from it. The French was led into the mistake, by a corrected copy of Buchanan’s Latin; which took the word *qubile*, as Dr. Robertson has taken it, for *qubil* or *till*; and so rendered the passage *usque ad prandium*. And let me close this train of verbal criticisms, into which the Doctor has drawn me; with a remark, that turns the whole with still greater force against him. *All serve to prove the originality of the Scotch copy*. The similarity of *qubil* and *qubile*, has occasioned this confusion. The original Latin read it *qubile*. The corrected Latin read it *qubil*. The French followed the latter. And the French, the Latin, the corrected and the original Latin, plainly derived their variation, mediately or immediately, from a SCOTCH reading in the common original of all.

“purpois (1) to na body; nor zit (2) durst (3)
 “ony present thameselfis unto me, judging yat”

“sermonem (1) cum quoquam; neque (2) quis-
 “quam se offerre mihi sit ausus (3), ut qui judica-
 “rent”

“grand propos (1); aussi (2) personne ne s’est
 “voulu (3) avancer, jugeant bien”

(1) The French has interpolated the word
 “grand,” and has materially altered the sense by

it; allowing the Queen to *have* talked, and so contradicting the Latin and the Scotch.

(2) The energetick “zit” or *yet*, is omitted by the Latin, but is preserved in the French “aussi” or *moreover*. This is another proof of the French translation, not being made from the present Latin, but from a corrected copy of it.

(3) The French “voulu” is foreign to the sense. The Scotch “durst,” answered in the Latin “ausus,” required *osē*. And the French has omitted the requisite words *au moi*, in answer to the Latin “mihi” and the Scotch “unto me.”

“it was not gude sa to do (1).”

“id non esse ex usu (1).”

“qu’il n’y faisoit bon (1).”

(1) “Jugeant bien qu’il n’y faisoit bon,” says Dr. Robertson *, is not a translation of the Latin “ut qui judicarent id non esse ex usu.” In this he has been joined by the Miscellaneous Remarker, who affirms that the Latin “is not sense, and is “not even consistent with the Scottish copy †.” I was puzzled at the first reading, to know what it was that occasioned this remark in both. But neither of them, it seems, was acquainted with the idiomatical sense of the expression “ex usu.” Such criticks are they in the Latin language! And

* Diff. 32.

† P. 13.

hence

hence the French became different from the Latin, in one of them; and the Latin proved inconsistent with the Scotch, in the other.

Thus ends, however, the first of the three sentences, that Dr. Robertson pitched upon in an unfortunate moment, as the only visible relicks of his own imaginary original in French; and as having a “spirit” and an “elegance,” which neither the Latin nor the Scotch have retained*. But the Doctor has forgotten to support his hypothesis, by pointing out either the “elegance” or the “spirit,” of any particular clauses in it. He has only taken two of the blunders in it, “jusques a la disnée,” and “je n’ay pas tenu *grand* propos;” and turned them into graces, by producing them as proofs of a non-translation, because—they are deviations from the Latin and the Scotch. He has then added one of his own; in fancying “jugeant bien qu’il n’y faisoit bon,” to be different in signification from, “ut qui judicarent id non esse ex usu.” And he has cited the words “veu ce que peut,” as different from the Latin, because they are more emphatical; and as superiour to the Scotch, when they are plainly derived from them through the corrected Latin. Nor has he taken any notice of two other blunders in the French, in the substitution of “voulu” for *osé*, and in the omission of *au moi* entirely. He did not observe them. If he had, he would have turned the deformities again into beauties. They would have been equally valid arguments, for a

* Diff. 32.

non-translation of the French from either the Latin or the Scotch. And they would have equally served, to give a "spirit" and an "elegance" to the French, which neither the Scotch nor the Latin have been able to reach.

Of this, of the "elegance" at least, the Miscellaneous Remarker comes forward to present us with one instance, though the Doctor had furnished us with none. His instance is a singular specimen of a spirit, trifling, injudicious, and prejudiced. The Latin uses the word "vultus;" the French renders it "contenance." I select the two words, that he has Italicised himself. And the French is *very seriously* asserted, to be "*much* superior in "*elegance and accuracy*," to the Latin. The Remarker then proceeds to note another instance, not indeed of "elegance," and not of "spirit," in the French; but merely of "accuracy." The Latin says "se offerre," the French "s'avancer." The Latin is affirmed, not to "express the meaning" of the French, because "the Queen is here made to speak, of what happened on the road and before dinner." But this is only a continuation of Dr. Robertson's mistake. She is speaking of her conduct "quhile denner-tyme." And, even if she had not, "s'avancer" might as well express the advance of a person into a room, as the approach of a person upon a road.

On the whole therefore, this first sentence of Dr. Robertson's original French, gives us no exalted ideas of the original itself. The latter may rest in that Elysium, into which the Doctor has transferred it; without raising one sigh in our bosoms

soms for the loss. It carries indeed all the signatures with it, of being the very same with the French copy yet on earth, and of being as *erroneous* and as *absurd* as that. And, what is peculiarly unfortunate for the Doctor and the Remarker together, a single sentence only, which has been picked out by both as a proof of a French copy, superior in spirit, in elegance, and in accuracy to the Latin and the Scotch; has proved upon examination, to have only one single grain of spirit more than the others, to have not even one more of elegance, and, as to accuracy, to have actually one interpolation, one omission, one impropriety, and one absurdity, in it.

II.—“ Four myle (1) or I came to the towne (2),
 “ ane gentilman of the Erle of Lennox (3) came,
 “ and maid his commendatiounis unto me (4);

II.—“ Ad quatuor passuum millia (1) antequam
 “ ad oppidum (2) accessissem, homo honesto loco
 “ natus a Comite Leviniaë (3) ad me venit, atque
 “ ejus nomine salutavit (4);”

II.—“ Estant encor a quatre mille pas (1) de la
 “ ville (2), vint a moy un gentilhomme envoyé
 “ par le Conte de Lenos (3), qui me salva en son
 “ nom (4);”

(1) “ Four myle,” Scotch, “ quatuor passuum
 “ millia,” Latin, and “ quatre mille pas,” French.
 The French has here so servilely followed the La-
 tin,

tin, as to violate the proprieties of its own language. The Romans originally used the words *mille passuum*, for a mile. But, as was sure to be the case, in time they used the greater word, and dropt the lesser. Their provincials, of course, adopted the language of their masters. And *mille* without *passuum* became the familiar term for a mile, in all the languages of Western Europe. Yet the French translator so little attended to this, that he followed the Latin implicitly; and, as this had “*quatuor millia passuum*,” he set down “*quatre mille pas*,” even though the French had for ages expressed the general idea, in the same manner that we have, by the word *mile*.

(2) Mr. Anderfon says, in order to censure Mary, that “the residence of the Earl of Lennox “at that time was near Dunbarton*.” Yet the very papers, then before him, shew the Earl to have resided equally at Glasgow†. And at Glasgow did he *generally* reside; as this city is expressly called by the Privy Council of Scotland, “the “ordinary place of his abode‡.”

(3) This was Thomas Crawford||, an active and gallant man in those times of confusion, and particularly distinguished by his bold surprize of Dunbarton Castle for the rebels§. But the French copy here appears, to have followed a corrected copy of the Latin; the affected “*Leviniaë*” of Buchanan, which is derived from the original orthography of

* Anderf. i. lx. † Ibid. and ii. 101. ‡ Keith, 348.

|| Goodall, ii. 245, 246, and 247. § Crawford, 188.

the name, *Levenox*, having been altered into *Lenoxie*, and the French therefore giving us “Lenos.”

(4) “Maid his commendatiounis unto me.” This phrase, says Mr. Tytler *, is *still used in the Scottish language, to signify he presented his compliments.* Yet the Miscellaneous Remarker observes †, that “to say *faites mes recommandations a un tel*, is more certainly French, than *make my commendatiouns* is Scottish. *Commender*, no doubt, may be employed abusively in French for *recommender*; and so perhaps *commendatiouns* may be employed in the Scottish language, for *recommendations*; but there occurs no singularity of idiom here; the phrase *to do commendations*, is in Ainsworth’s English and Latin Dictionary, and is explained to mean *aliquem salvere jubere*; and yet it has a very French air.” The captiousness and the feebleness of this gentleman’s criticisms, are strongly exemplified together here. He would make the idiom a French one, in opposition to Mr. Tytler. Yet he proves it an English one, in opposition to himself. And he concludes with asserting, in opposition to both, that it has “a very French air.” The fact is, that it is a mode of expression purely Scotch and English; but that it is similar to, though not the same with, a mode of expression in the French language. It was a customary idiom of compliment in all letters at that period, both in England and in Scotland ‡.—But the adherence of
the

* P. 88. † P. 22—23. ‡ Goodall, ii. 153, 161, 178, 375, &c. It is derived from “recommendations,” used in Sadler’s Letters, 156, which in 242, 394, and 440, is “commendations.” See also Haynes, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15.

the French to the Latin, is very close here. "Ejus
 "nomine salutavit" is re-echoed in "falva en
 "son nom."

"and (1) excusit him (2), that he came not to
 "meit me, be reffoun he durst not interpryse (3)
 "the same, because of the rude wordis that I had
 "spokin to Cuninghame (4). And he desyrit,
 "that he fuld come to the inquisitioun (5) of ye
 "matter, yat I suspectit him of (6). This last
 "speiking (7) was of his awin heid, without ony
 "commiffioun (8)."

"(1) excusavit Comitem (2), quòd non ipse ob-
 "viam processisset, id enim quò minùs auderet (3),
 "in causâ fuisse, quòd verbis asperioribus Cuni-
 "gamium [Cuningamium] (4) compellâsem.
 "Petivit etiam, ut inquirerem (5) de suspicione
 "meâ adversus Comitem (6). Postrema hæc ser-
 "monis pars (7) ab ipso, injussu Comitis, erat
 "adjecta (8)."

"et (1) l' (2) excusa, de ce qu'il ne m'estoit
 "venu au devant, disant, qu'il ne l'avoit osé en-
 "treprendre (3), a cause que j'avoye tensé Cu-

15, 16, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 112, &c. &c.
 for "commendations;" 16, 24, 150, 207, and 210, for "com-
 "mend;" and 62, 75, 112, 113, 116, 123, 124, 152, 201,
 and 212, for "recommendations." See likewise Murdin, 17,
 for "recommendations." And see "commendations" in
 Forbes, 1. 5, 24, 88, 89, 94, 95, &c. and "recommenda-
 tions," 1. 45, 104, 132, even in French thrice 1. 7, and in
 11. xi, 280, 496, &c.

"ningham

“ ningham (4) avec paroles aigres. Il me de-
 “ manda auffi, que je m’enquiffe (5) de foupçon,
 “ que j’avoye contre iceluy Conte (6). Ceste
 “ derniere partie de fon dire (7) avoit esté adjouftée
 “ par luy, fans que le Conte luy eust com-
 “ mandé (8).”

(1) “ *And excusit,*” Scotch; “ *excusavit,*” Latin, without the connecting word; “ *et excusa,*” French, with it. This is another proof, that the French was not tranſlated from the preſent Latin, but (as I have already ſhown) from another verſion in Latin, one that had all the eight Letters in it.

(2) “ *Excused him,*” Scotch; “ *excusavit Comi-tem,*” Latin; and “ *l’excusa,*” French. This is another proof of the ſame point.

(3) “ *Durſt not interpryſe,*” “ *quò minùs au-deret,*” “ *ne l’avoit oſé entreprendre.*” This is another. And the remarkable coincidence in *one* word, muſt be purely caſual, as the French tranſlator was totally ignorant of the Scotch language. We have an inſtance of the like before, in the Scotch “ *countenance,*” the Latin “ *vultus,*” and the French “ *contenance.*” There are alſo ſeveral others afterwards, which are not worth a particular notice. This one remark will ſuffice for all.

(4) This is Robert Cunningham, who appeared at the trial of Bothwell, and in the Earl of Lenox’s name proteſted againſt the proſecution of it.

(5) Here the turn of the Latin, by which it has avoided the idiomatick obſcurity of the Scotch, is cloſely copied by the French.

(6) The

(6) The matter here hinted at, is the Queen's suspicion of Lenox's concern in the murder of Rizzio. "The Earl," says Randolph in a letter dated April 4, 1566, "continueth sick, sore troubled in mind; he staith in the Abby," Holyrood-house; "his son hath been once with him, and he once with the Queen, since she came to the Castle" of Edinburgh*. But this very allusion proves the forgery. The murder had been committed in *March*. The Earl, whom she suspected of concern in it, had been residing in his apartments within the Palace ever since; and had even been to pay his respects to her, since she went from the Palace to the Castle. She must therefore have intimated her suspicion to *him*, rather than to his servant Cunningham. And, in the *January* following, it is absolutely ridiculous to suppose, that she had *lately* uttered her suspicion to the servant, and that the Earl was *now* afraid to come and see her because of it. He had already seen her, even in April before. He had seen her at the Palace, probably. He had seen her in the Castle, certainly †.

But the conduct of the three copies here, is remarkable. The Scotch, in its usual stile of colloquial indistinctness, speaks only of "him;" the Latin very properly substitutes "Comitem;" and the French accordingly specifies "iceluy Conte."

* Robertson, ii. 359.

† This letter of Randolph's refutes Foster's from *Berwick*, in Robertson, ii. 360.

(7) “ This last speiking,” “ postrema hæc sermonis pars,” “ ceste derniere partie de son dire.” The French is only the Latin repeated.

(8) Here the departure of the Latin from the language of the original, and the adherence of the French to the Latin, are equally observable.

III.—“ I answerit to him, that thair was na receipt culd serve aganis feir; and that ^{he} wald not be affrayit, in cace he wer not culpabill (1); and that I answerit bot rudely, to the doutis yat wer in his letteris (2). Summa, I maid him hald his tongue (3). The rest wer lang to wryte (4). Schir James Hammiltoun met me; quha schawit, that the uther tyme quhen he [Lenox] hard of my”

III.—“ Ego respondi, nullam adversus timorem esse medicinam; neque, si extra culpam esset (1), tam meticulosum futurum; neque me, nisi ad dubitationes quæ in ejus literis erant, asperius respondisse (2). In summâ, imposui homini silentium (3). Longum esset cetera perscribere (4). D. Jacobus Hamiltonius mihi obviam venit is ostendit superiore tempore, cûm de”

III.—“ Je responduy, qu’il n’y avoit point de remede contre la crainte; et que, s’il estoit hors de faute (1), il ne seroit pas tant timide; et que je n’avoye point respondu asprement, sinon aux doutes qui estoient en ses lettres (2). En somme, j’imposay silence au personnage (3). Il seroit long descrire tout le rest (4). Le Seigneur Jaques

“ Hambleton vint au devant de moy ; lequel me
 “ declara, qu’auparavant,”

(1) “ Si extra culpam esset,” Latin ; “ s’il estoit
 “ hors de faute,” French.

(2) In the *preceding* paragraph, Lenox is represented as suspected of the murder of Rizzio, and Mary is intimated to have *therefore* treated Cunningham sharply. The earl, says Crawford, durst not wait upon the queen, “ becaus of the rude wordis ^{she} [Mary] had spokin to Cuninghame ; and he [Crawford] desyrit, that he [Lenox] suld come to the inquisition of ye matter, yat I suspectit him of.” The suspicion, and the rudeness, are plainly connected together. The one is hinted to be the cause, and the other is insinuated to be the effect. And common-sense shews this to be the relation between them. Yet in the *present* paragraph, with that sudden contradictoriness of which we shall meet with other instances hereafter, the rudeness is no longer referred to the suspicion ; but is attributed to some doubts, expressed by Lenox in some letter or letters of his to Mary.

Mary is said before to *suspect* Lenox. She here says, that “ he wald not be affrayit in cace he wer “ not *culpabill*.” She therefore charges him with a share in the murder. But all resentment upon this account, must have been long over at present. She had pardoned even Lethington, in the August before *. She had pardoned even Morton, in the December following †. Yet these she not merely suspected ; she *knew* them to have been guilty of

* Keith, 345.

† Ibid. 429. and Pref. xi.

the murder. And would she be still persecuting Lenox with *suspensions*, when she had overlooked and forgiven *absolute certainties*? She undoubtedly would not.

Nor did she persecute him at all. This is plain from a single fact. The king forming a design, as he said, to leave the kingdom in August or September 1566; Lenox was so far from considering himself as a persecuted man, that he wrote her Majesty a letter, which she received on September the 29th; and entreated her to use her influence with the king, in diverting him from his resolution. This was the act of a man, who was apparently in some habits of friendliness with the Queen. And, as Lenox had really signed the written agreement for the murder of Rizzio; so the Queen had even pardoned him in form, for his acknowledged share in that deed, *immediately after* the commission of it. "The Earl of Lenox," says Hollinshed, "being partaker with them, came to *Dunbar*, and got pardon*." She therefore *knew* of his concern in the murder, and could not *suspect* it: she had *pardoned* him long since, and could not be *persecuting* him now; and this letter appears an errant forgery.

But was *that* the letter, which is here alluded to? It certainly was not. There was no epistolary correspondence indeed, carried on *ordinarily* betwixt the queen and him. There were only two periods in this part of their lives, at which they appear to have corresponded at all; the present, in consequence of the king's intention to go abroad, and a

* ii. 383. And see Knox, 393.

later one, in consequence of the king's murder. Of both correspondences we have a particular account. Nor were there any "doutes," expressed in the FORMER of them. This is clear from two accounts of it, written at the time. "The earl of Lenox," says Monsieur Le Croc, the French embassadour, in a letter of October 15th, "has written a letter to the Queen, signifying that 'tis not in his power to divert his son from his intended voyage; and prays her Majesty to use her interest therein. This letter from the Earl of Lenox, the Queen received on Michaelmas-day in the morning.—Early next morning the Queen sent for me, and for all the Lords and other Counsellors.—The Bishop of Ross, by the Queen's commandment, declared to the council the King's intention;—and that her Majesty's information hereof proceeded not from the rumour of the town, but from a letter written to her by his own father, the Earl of Lenox; *which letter was likewise read in the Council.*" "From Glasgow," adds the Privy Council in a formal memorial upon the subject, "my Lord Lenox wrote to the Queen; and acquainted her Majesty, that although he had endeavoured to divert him," the King, from going abroad, "he nevertheless had not the interest to make him alter his mind.—The Earl of Lenox's letter came to the Queen's hand, on St. Michael's day, and *her Majesty was pleased to impart the same incontinent to the Lords of her Council,* in order to receive advice thereupon. And if her Majesty was surprized by this ADVERTISEMENT from the Earl of Lenox, these Lords
" were

“ were no less astonished to understand; that the
 “ King should entertain any thoughts of depart-
 “ ing*.” This letter therefore had no *doubts*. It
 was merely an *advertisement* of the King’s intended
 departure.

What doubts indeed, and *of what*, could *any*
 letter from Lenox have expressed to the Queen *at*
present? None certainly. Nor had any been ac-
 tually expressed. This is clear from a real letter of
 hers, dated only three days before the present;
 speaking equally of the Earl of Lenox, and speak-
 ing too in terms of blame against him; yet resting
 her blame, not upon any *doubts* expressed in a letter
 or letters to her, not upon any *letter* whether with
 or without doubts in it, that had provoked her to
 use *rude words* to the bearer, but *upon his and his*
son’s speeches and contrivances against her. “ Al-
 “ wayis,” says Mary on January the 20th, 1567,
 to her embassadour in France, “ we persave him
 “ [the King] occupeit and bissy aneuch to haif in-
 “ quisitoun of our doyngis; quhilkis, God willing,
 “ fall ay be sic, as nane fall haif occasioun to be
 “ offendit with thame, or to report of us any wayis
 “ bot honorably; howsoever he, HIS FATHER, and
 “ thair fautoris, *speik*; *quilkis*, we knaw, want na
 “ gude will to make us haif ado, gif thair power
 “ wer equivalent to thair myndis. But God mo-
 “ deratis thair forces well aneuch, and takis the
 “ moyen of executioun of thair pretensis fra thame,”
 &c. † At *this* time, Mary had plainly received
 no letter of doubts from Lenox, and had been pro-
 voked by it to utter no rude words to the bearer.

* Keith, 346, and 348.

† Ibid. Pref. viii.

All the offence which she had *yet* taken at Lenox, was grounded on his *speeches*, and on his *cabals*, against her. And the writing, which speaks of her having received such a letter, and of her having uttered such words in consequence of it, is proved by the genuine writing to be a FORGERY.

The forgery, indeed, lies in an *anachronism*. The fabricator has *anticipated* a fact. He alludes to some letter or letters of *doubts*, which were *really* written by Lenox, but written *some weeks posteriour* to the pretended date of the present. *After the murder of the king*, Lenox wrote the Queen more than one letter concerning it, in which the rebels thought there were some *doubts* expressed by Lenox, concerning Mary's sincerity in bringing the murderers to trial; as they induced Lenox himself to carry copies of two of his, and the originals of two of hers, and present them in form to the English commissioners, with a charge of murder against Mary; and as they afterwards procured the originals and copies of all the rest, and lodged them equally in the hands of Cecil *. These are dated February 20th, 21st, and 26th, March 1st, 17th, and 24th, and April the xith. *All* these, however, cannot be alluded to here; because the allusion is to *one* only, to what was brought at one time and by one messenger, and to what the Queen answered with rude words to Cunningham. This therefore carries us to the *last* of them, that of April the xith, the famous letter from Stirling; in which he, who had first desired her to call a parliament, *in order to*

* Anderson, i. 40—49, Contents, lix. and lx, and Goodall, ii. 208—209.

bring on the trial; and who had then desired her to hasten on the trial, *before* the parliament met, “yis
 “matter not beinge ane parliament matter;” now requested her to *defer* the trial, *to an indefinite time*. This was actually brought to her by “Cuning-
 “hame,” while the others were all brought by we know not whom *. And *this* expresses *doubts* concerning her, very plainly. “For your awin ho-
 “nour,” says Lenox in it, “I desire you wauld
 “caufs apprehend, and put in suir keiping, the
 “suspect persons namit,” Bothwell, &c. “avoyd-
 “ing your Majestie’s company of tham; for *it was*
 “*nevir hard of*, bot in the tryall of sic ane odious
 “fact, all suspectit personis was *alwaysis* apprehendit,
 “*qubat degre soever thai war of*;—utherwayis the
 “suspect personis continewing still at libertie, *being*
 “*gret in court*, and *about your Majestie’s person*,
 “comforts and incouragis thame,” &c. † On the receipt of this letter, Mary might possibly utter some harsh words to the bearer, Cunningham. This indeed was the only letter, for which she could. And the forger has been wildly inattentive to dates, in alluding to a letter, which was posteriour to the very death of the King; and wildly confused in his ideas, in speaking of the Queen’s suspicion of Lenox for the murder of Rizzio, and in alluding to Lenox’s doubts of the Queen concerning the murder of Darnley, at a period BETWIXT both.

The fact was this. When the forger sat down to his work of composing epistles for Mary, he had a void of time before him, which he must necessarily fill up with epistolary incidents. The letters must

* Anderson, i. 40 and 45, and ii. 106.

† Ibid. i. 52—54.

relate some things, in order to be letters. They must mention some circumstances of her journey, her reception, and her conversation; in order to give a greater air of probability to them. And they must notice some particulars of her present conduct, and of her future designs; in order to bear a charge of adultery and of murder, upon them. These incidents, therefore, must all be either picked up by intelligence from the real events of her visit, or be created by a happy exertion of the imagination, and of the judgment, together. But so to create, is no easy task. The letters are apparently the work of a hasty effort, struck off at once without imagination and without judgment. They are *therefore* stored with incidents, which intelligence supplied. This is plain from the depositions of Thomas Crawford in England, who confirmed several of the facts, related in this part of the present letter particularly *. Yet, in arranging the articles of this intelligence, the forger was liable to be abused by his negligence and his situation. He was to take such articles only, as were antecedent to the date of his letters. He was to reject all that were posteriour to it. He was to draw a very precise line betwixt both. And he was to adhere very rigidly to it. But the hurry of the forger, did not allow him to be confined within such limits. He drew no line, or he overpast it. He united prior and posteriour incidents together. He combined the future and the past, in his own point of time. He even went such lengths of confusion, as to anticipate an event, that happened NEAR THREE MONTHS AFTERWARDS.

* Goodall, ii. 245—246.

The distance of time at which he was writing, came in to the aid of his carelessness, to conceal the blunder from him. And he plainly betrayed his forgery to the eye of the publick, by it; though this eye is now opened for the first time to see it, after an acquiescence of two hundred years under it*.

(3.) “Impofui homini filentium,” Latin, and “j’impofay filence au personnage,” French; are as fimilar to each other, as they are different from the Scotch, “I maid him hald his toung.”

(4.) “The reft wer lang to wryte.” What remainder could there be to write? She has told us his fpeech. She has told us her anfwer. And ſhe has told us the refult of both. What elfe could ſhe have to tell us? Nor let fuch a queſtion be thought, more brisk than proper. Theſe letters are written with fuch continued abſurdity, in the whole and in the parts; and they have been ſo little examined hitherto, with minute attention; that we can hardly be too much alive, to the progrefs of the narrative in them, or too ready to queſtion and interrogate the ſentences, as they ariſe before us.—The French has *added* the word “tout.”

* Buchanan has alſo miſſed himſelf in his Hiſtory, by truſting to his memory, and miſtaking one event for another. In xix. 367. he makes Murray to hold a parliament in Auguſt 1567, when he actually held it in December following (Keith, 465). But then Murray did really hold one in Auguſt, *the year ſucceeding* (Anderson, iv. part 1. 125—126). And this his memory afterwards confounded with that. So he convenes the nobles at Stirling, in the end of April and beginning of May 1567 (xviii. 356); *becauſe* they aſſembled there in the beginning of June afterwards.

“cum-

“ cumming, he departit away, and fend Howf-
 “ toun (1) to schaw him [Sir James], that he wald
 “ never have belevit, that he [Sir James] wald have
 “ perfewit him [Lenox], nor zit have accompanyit
 “ him [Sir James] with the Hammiltounis. He
 “ answerit (2), that he was only cum bot to see me
 “ (3); and yat he wald nouthier accompany Stewart
 “ nor Hammiltoun, but be my commandement (4).
 “ He [Lenox] desyrit, that he [Sir James] wald
 “ cum and speik with him [Lenox]: he [Sir James]
 “ refusit it (5).”

“ meo adventu audisset, eum discessisse, ac Husto-
 “ num (1) ad se misisse, qui diceret, se nunquam
 “ fuisse crediturum, quod aut ipsum persequeretur,
 “ aut Hamiltoniis se conjungeret: se vero respon-
 “ disse (2), fui itineris causam unam fuisse, ut me
 “ videret (3); neque cum Stuartis aut Hamiltoniis,
 “ injussu meo, se conjuncturum (4).”

“ ayant entendu ma venüe, il s'estoit retiré, et luy
 “ avoit envoyé Huston (1), pour luy dire, qu'il
 “ n'eust jamais creu, ou qu'il l'eust voulu poursuivre,
 “ ou qu'il se fut joinct avec les Hambletons: et
 “ qu'il respondit (2), qu'il n'y avoit eu qu'une
 “ cause de son voyage, a scavoir, pour me voir (3);
 “ et qu'il ne se conjoindroit avec les Stuarts et
 “ Hambletons, sans mon commandement (4).”

(1) This name shews the fidelity of the French
 to the Latin; “ Howstoun,” Scotch, being “ Huf-
 “ tonum,” Latin, and “ Huston,” French; as
 “ quha,” Scotch, “ is,” Latin, and “ lequel,” French,
 shew

shew the French here to be from the corrected Latin.

(2) The Scotch begins a fresh sentence. But the Latin continues the former. And therefore the French continues it too.

(3) The Latin says, "fui itineris causam unam
"fuisse, ut me videret;" and the French, "qu'il
"n'y avoit eu qu'une cause de son voyage, a sca-
"voir, pour me voir;" both very similar and very
diffuse: while the Scotch is at once different and
compact, "that he only cum bot to see me."

(4.) The whole turn of the sentence here, and particularly the plural termination of Stuart and Hamilton, shew the French to be merely from the Latin. The Stuarts, or the family and dependents of the Earl of Lenox, were at this period in a state of enmity with the Hamiltons, the family and dependents of the Duke of Chatelleraut.

(5) A whole sentence in the Scotch, is here omitted by the Latin; and, in consequence of that, by the French. Such is the variation of the Latin from the Scotch; and such the closeness, with which the French comes treading in its steps! The Scotch, as we have reason to think from other instances hereafter, had not the sentence in it originally. The *first* and the *corrected* Latin, therefore, were equally deprived of the sentence. And for that reason the French *could* not have it.—But let us here attend to the new fact, stated in this paragraph.

Lenox is said "the uther tyme," when he heard of the Queen's coming to Glasgow, to have "de-
"partit

“partit away.” This alludes to some journey of the Queen’s, which was different from the present. It was the journey of “the uther tyme.” It was some journey, that was still well remembered, and that had consequently been taken a little before. And Lenox *then* “departit away” from Glasgow; when he *now* staid in the city, and sent to excuse his non-attendance on her upon the road. So plainly is that journey of the Queen’s, discriminated by the letter from the present! Yet, if we proceed with the letter, we shall find it *confounding* what it has already discriminated, and shall see the journey to be the very same with the present. It was one, in which Sir James Hamilton came to pay his respects to the Queen, equally as he did in this. It was one, in which the Queen was escorted by the Hamiltons, equally as she is in this *. It was one too, in which Sir James Hamilton must have *then* related to the Queen the anecdote concerning Lenox, if the journey had been different from this. And indeed Sir James makes it one and the same with this, by his answer to Lenox, as reported in the letter. “He answerit, that he WAS only cum
“bot to see me; and yat he WALD nouthier accom-
“pany Stewart nor Hammiltoun, bot be my com-
“mandement.” So plainly was this journey of the Queen’s, at once different from, and yet the very same with, her present! The circumstances, the language, and the whole tenour of the story, all unite to prove it the same; while the departure of Lenox at it, and the other time assigned for it, concur to prove it different. And all forms a very

* Sect. xxxii.

glaring evidence, of that absurdity in the parts of these letters, which I have noticed so little a while before.

But, whether we consider the journey as different or the same, *either way* the mention of it proves the mentioning letter to be a forgery. This is extraordinary. Yet it is evident.

If we take the journey to be a *different* one from the present, the Queen is represented as going to Glasgow some time before the 23d of January 1567, and Lenox is described as leaving Glasgow upon the report of her coming. This must have been, as I have observed before, only a little time previous to her present journey. It must certainly have been, *since* the Queen began to suspect Lenox of a share in the murder of Rizzio, *since* Lenox left his lodgings in Holyrood-house, and *since* he retired to Glasgow. He was in his lodgings, as I have previously shewn, on the 4th of April. But he was also there, many days later. That letter, which shews he was then resident “in the Abby,” and had been “once with the Queen since she came “to the castle,” ought to be dated much later than it is. It was not till the *fifth* of April, that the Privy Council *agreed* to *advise* the Queen, if it might be compatible with her pleasure and health, to “remane in the castell of Edinburgh, till her “Grace be deliverit of hir birth*.” She entered it therefore, *after* the 5th. But she also entered it *before* the 14th. She kept Easter-Sunday there, which was the 14th of April in that year†. Yet she had been for some time in the castle, when the

* Keith, 335.

† Goodall, i. 289.

letter was written; as Lenox had then been "once with the Queen, since she came to the castle." And the letter ought pretty certainly to be dated the 24th; as "it is written to me for certain," says the author, "by one that on *Monday last* spoke with the Queen, that she is determined, that the house of Lenox shall be as poor in Scotland, as ever it was;" and as the Monday but one after Easter-Sunday, was the 22d of April. Lenox then continued at Holyrood-house, to the 24th, and beyond. The Queen also had removed before into the castle; and continued there to the time of her delivery, the 19th day of June, and to the completion of her month afterwards*. Betwixt the 24th and 28th of July, she left the castle for Alloa, a seat of Lord Mar's, near Stirling†. From that period to the present, we have all her motions described exactly by the zeal and hostility of the rebel diary. And WE HAVE NO JOURNEY TO GLASGOW, IN ANY PART OF THE WHOLE‡. So evidently is this, if considered as *different* from the present, demonstrated to be all a forgery!

Nor is it less so, if considered as the *same*. It was taken, says the letter, "the uther tyme." The slightest distance of time, that we can ground upon these words, directly oversets them. In S. xxiv. we have words nearly similar, and meaning the day after next, "uther morne." If therefore we inter-

* Goodall, i. 289—290. † Ibid. 292, 293. And Hollinshed, as if he meant to contradict the Rebel Diary and Buchanan's Detection (Anderson, ii. 6 and 269.) directly says, that Mary remained at Alloa "certeine daies, the Earles of Murraie and Mar being of companie with hir." (ii. 384.)

‡ Anderson, ii. 269—271.

pret those words in the sense of these, and consider them as signifying the day before the last, which is the lowest possible signification that we can give them; even then we shall be carried back to the 21st of January, the very day of Mary's setting out for Glasgow. And as I shall hereafter shew Mary *not* to have *known* of her own setting out, *the very day before*; the report of it could not possibly have reached Glasgow, the very day of her setting out. This carries a decisive weight with it. But let us view the account, in another light also. The Earl of Lenox is said to have *left* Glasgow, upon the report of the Queen's coming. Yet, as I have already observed, he did *not* leave it. This the testimony of Thomas Crawford satisfactorily shews, who was the very man, that came to Mary on the road in the name of Lenox; and who deposed before the commissioners in England, That "as soon as the
 " Quene of Scotts had spoken with the King his
 " master at Glasgow, from tyme to tyme he, the
 " said Crawford, was secretly informed by the King
 " of all things, which had passed betwixt the said
 " Quene and the King, *to the intent he shuld report*
 " *the same to the Earl of Lenox his master*; because
 " the said Earle durst not then, for displeasure of the
 " Quene," occasioned (as appears from her letter of January 20th before) by his factious pratings and factious cabals, "*come abroad**." Our present letter, also, confirms the testimony and the observation. "This day," says the writer of it, "HIS FATHER
 " bled at the mouth and nose;—I have not zit sene
 " him, *he keipis his chalmer*; the King desyris,

* Goodall, ii. 246.

" that

“ that I fuld give him meit with my awin handis *.”
And the grofs and palpable contradiction here, is the fullest proof of a forgery. Nature could not deviate fo wildly from itself. Art alone could. The Queen could not poffibly have afferted Lenox, to be departed from the town, and yet to be actually in it. And as this concurs with the obfervation before, concerning the “ uther tyme;” fo both unite to make the whole paffage furnifh us, with a fecond, unnoticed, proof of the general forgery.

* Sect. xvi.

§ III.

LETTER THE FIRST CONTINUED.

IV.—“ The laird of Luffe (1), Howstoun (2),
 “ and Caldwellis sone (3), with xl (4) hors or
 “ thairabout, came and met me (5). The laird of
 “ Luffe said, he was chargeit to ane day of law (6)
 “ be the King’s Father, quhilk fuld be this day (7),
 “ aganis his [Lenox’s] awin hand-writ, quhilk he
 “ [Luffe] hes (8): and zit notwithstanding, knaw-
 “ ing of my cumming, it is delayit (9). He was in-
 “ quyrit to cum to him (10) [Lenox], quhilk he
 “ refusit (11); and sweiris that he will indure (12)
 “ nathing of him.”

IV.—“ Luffius (1), Hustonus (2), Caldoëlli
 “ filius (3), comitati quadraginta (4) circiter equis,
 “ obviam venerunt (5). Luffius dixit, se a Regis
 “ patre in eum ipsum diem (7) ut causam diceret
 “ (6) accersitum, contra quam chirographo pro-
 “ misisset; id chirographum penes se esse (8): tamen
 “ cum de meo adventu rescitum esset, diem prola-
 “ tum (9); se accersitum a Comite (10), ire nolle
 “ (11); ac jurat se nihil unquam ab eo velle (12).”

IV.—“ Luffe (1), Huston (2), et le fils de Cauld-
 “ wellis (3), accompagnez d’environ quatre vingts
 “ (4) chevaux, vindrent au devant de moy (5).
 “ Luffe dict, que ce jour-la mesme (7) il estoit ad-
 Vol. II. D “ journé

“journé (6) par le pere du Roy, contre ce qu’il
 “avoit promis par son feing, et que ce feing estoit
 “par devers luy (8): mais, que quand on fut ad-
 “verty de ma venüe, que le jour avoit esté pro-
 “longé (9). Et qu’il ne vouloit (11) aller par
 “devers le Conte (10), qui l’avoit appellé; en
 “jurant, qu’il ne luy demanderoit (12) jamais
 “rien.”

(1) The Latin translator rendering “the laird
 “of Lusse” by “Lussius,” instead of *Dominus de
 Lussâ*; the Frenchman was compelled to take up
 with “Lusse,” here and immediately afterwards.

(2) The French again follows the Latin, in the
 variation of this name.

(3) The French here pursues the corrected La-
 tin, which was less flourishing in itself, and more
 close to the Scotch; retaining the conjunctive par-
 ticle, giving the Scotch name just as it was, but
 mistaking the termination for a part of the name,
 and so making “Caldwell” into “Caldwellis.”
 The Latin being “et filius de Caldwell,” the
 French read it, “et filius de Caldwellë,” and so
 became itself “et le fils de Cauldwellis.” This
 gentleman was afterwards seized by the rebels, as he
 was hastening to assist the Queen, just then escaped
 from prison*.

(4) “Forty” in Scotch, “quadraginta” in La-
 tin, and by some strange mistake “quatre vingts”
 or eighty in French.

* Keith, 475.

(5) Here

(5) Here also the French follows a more correct translation into Latin, than the present is; the relative "me" being omitted in the last, and yet preserved in the first.

(6) "Chargeit to ane day of law," and "ut causam diceret accersitum," are only answered by "adjourné" in French. The Frenchman did not understand the meaning of the Latin. The laird of Luffe was summoned to attend as a jurymen, at one of Lenox's courts. Ignorant of this, the Frenchman only says he was summoned, without specifying for what. And this alone should have shewn decisively, that the French was not the original, and that the Scotch was.

(7) "Quhilk fuld be this day," Scotch; "in eum ipsum diem," Latin; "ce jour-la mesme," French.

(8) "Aganis his own hand-writ, quhilk he hes," Scotch; "contra quam chirographo promississet, id chirographum penes se esse," Latin; and "contre ce qu'il avoit promis par son seing, et que ce seing estoit par devers luy," French. So thoroughly Latinized is the French!

(9) "It is delayit," Scotch; "diem prolatum," Latin; "que le jour avoit esté prolongé," French; another proof of the same point.

(10) "Him," "Comitem," "le Conte."

(11) "Refusit," "nolle," "ne vouloit."

(12) "Indure," "velle," "demanderoit."

These three instances are three additional proofs of the same point.

V.—“Never ane of that (1) towne came to
 “speik to me, quhilk causis me think that thay ar
 “his (2); and nevertheles (3) he (4) speikis gude,
 “at the leist his (5) sone (6). I fé na uther gentil-
 “man (7), bot thay of my company.”

V.—“Nemo oppidanorum (1) me convenit, quæ
 “res facit ut eos credam ab illo stare (2); præ-
 “terea (3), bene loquuntur (4), faltem de (6)
 “filio (5). Nullos præterea nobiles (7) video, præ-
 “ter meos comites.”

V.—“Nul des citoyens (1) n'est venu a moy,
 “qui faict que je croy qu'ils sont d'avec cestuy-
 “la (2); et puis (3) ils (4) parlent en bien, au
 “moins (6) du fils (5). D'avantage je ne voy au-
 “cuns de la noblesse (7), autre ceux de ma fuite.”

(1) This is one of those slight and incidental strokes of forgery, which the common eye always overlooks, but which betray the forgery very significantly to a critical one. The letter pretends to be written from Glasgow. The real Mary, writing from *Glasgow*, could not possibly have called it *that* town. She must have called it *the* town, as she does before, or *this* town. But the forger of the letter, writing at *another* place, and writing from a forced combination of ideas, would be apt at times to start aside from it. Art would intermit its controuling power, for a moment. And nature would
 re-assert

re-assert her authority, laugh at the mimickries of her rival, and confound her fantastical operations.

(2) The Frenchman has made an amazing blunder here. His Latinity not carrying him far enough, to shew him the meaning of the idiom, “*ab illo stare*,” he translated it literally, “*font d’avec cestuy-la*,” and so gave it a signification directly the reverse of the original. And, as “*quæ res facit*” runs so readily into “*qui facit*,” so it concurs to shew, how literally he was following the Latin.

(3) The Latin translating “*nevertheles*” by “*præterea*,” the French, reading it as “*præter ea*,” and giving it the signification of *after this*, renders it by the word “*puis*.” In this little instance we see that progressive formation of an error, which has often interposed, no doubt, to multiply mistakes in the French of these letters, but which we can seldom trace so distinctly as we do here. And the error is the more observable, as the French, by prefixing the “*et*,” appears to have been translating from the corrected Latin.

(4) This is the region of mistakes to both the French and the Latin. “*He speikis*” is rendered “*loquuntur*” and “*ils parlent*.”

(5) “*His*” is omitted equally in the Latin and in the French, though so necessary to the sense.

(6) The father, says the Scotch concerning Lennox, speaks “*gude*,” or at least his son, the King, does. Mary is thus made to anticipate in reflection, what she relates in succession afterwards. Yet there is a great absurdity, attending one half of the

anticipation. She relates the “gude” speeches of the *son* hereafter. But she relates none hereafter from the *father*. She also *relates none before*. She has not yet seen him, and she does not see him at all in this letter, to hear him speak either “gude” or bad. She tells us expressly, near the *end* of this long letter, that she had not even then seen him. “His father, she says, “keipis his chalmer; I HAVE “NOT SENE HIM *.” Nor can she be excused, as alluding to the message, which she received from him on the road. This she did not consider as “gude,” because she says she made the messenger “hald his tounge.” And this passage is therefore one of those many contradictions, which I have already announced to my reader, some of which I have exposed to his view before, and others I shall be forced to expose hereafter. This contradiction the Latin translator appears to have observed, and to have taken a turn in order to avoid it. “Nemo “oppidanorum,” he says, “me convenit, quæ res “facit ut eos credam ab illo stare; *præterea, bene “loquuntur, saltem de filio.*” That the townsmen speak well of him, or at least of his son; is an *additional* reason assigned for believing, that they are of his side. This is plainly too regular a chain of thoughts, to be linked by the hand of accident. He studiously formed it, to escape an absurdity. He has escaped one by it, and has fallen into another. He now gives the kind speeches to the townsmen of Glasgow. He now fixes the father, “or at the least his sone,” to be the object, instead of the speaker, of them. And he now makes the

* Sect. xxxi.

townsmen to utter them to Mary, when “never ane
 “ of that towne came to speik to” her at all. I
 need hardly add, that the French has taken all the
 absurdity of the Latin. We cannot expect the
 mock-fun to be freer from spots, than the true.
 And “ils [citoyens] parlent en bien, au moins du
 “ fils,” is just the reflection of “bene loquuntur,
 “ saltem de filio.”

(7) “Gentilman” was translated before “homo
 “ honesto loco natus,” and “un gentilhomme.”
 But now, when the Latin absurdly renders it “no-
 “ biles,” the French, scorning to be less absurd,
 renders it “noblesse.”

VI.—“The King send for Joachim zisternicht
 “ (1); and askit at him, quhy I ludgeit not besyde
 “ him? and that (2) he wald ryse the soner, gif
 “ that wer (3); and quhairfoir I come, gif it was
 “ for gude appointment (4)?”

VI.—“Rex arcessivit Joachimum heri (1); ac
 “ eum interrogavit, cur non propé se diverterem?
 “ id enim (2) si fecissem, se citiús surrecturum (3);
 “ item cur venissem? an reconciliationis causâ (4)?”

VI.—“Le Roy appella hier (1) Joachim; et
 “ l’interroga, pourquoy je n’alloye loger pres de
 “ luy? et que (2), si je le faisoie, il seroit plustost
 “ remis sus (3); item pourquoy j’estoy venue, et si
 “ c’estoit pour faire une reconciliation (4)?”

(1) This is the first note of time, that has occurred yet. I shall mark all very carefully, as they appear before us. And I shall stop occasionally to shew, how fully they unite to prove the forgery. But I shall only observe at present, that the Latin translating “*zisternicht*” by “*heri*,” and not *hesternâ nocte*; the French was forced to use “*hier*,” instead of *hier au soir*.

(2) The French “*et que*,” so different from the Latin, and so according with the Scotch, shews it to have been taken from the corrected Latin.

(3) “*Gif that wer*, rendered “*id si fecissem*” and “*si je le faisoys*,” shews the French to be only Latin Frenchified. The words adjoining in all the copies, “*he wald ryse the soner*,” “*se citius sur-recturum*,” and “*il seroit plustost remis fus*,” mean that he should the sooner be raised up from his bed of sickness. He kept his bed at present*.

(4) “*And quhairfoir I come*,” Scotch, “*item cur venissem*,” Latin, “*item pourquoy j’estoye venue*,” French; and “*gif it was for gude appointment*,” “*an reconciliationis causâ*,” “*si c’estoit pour faire une reconciliation*.” But how comes the King to ask this question? He knew for what purpose she came. Joachim no doubt, as her forerunner, brought a message from the Queen to the King, indicating her immediate visit to him, and the reasons of it. This must have been the case, whether the Queen came with friendly or with hostile inten-

* Sect. x. and xxi.

tions. And it must peculiarly have been so, when the Queen came (as I shall soon shew she did) in consequence of a message from the king himself, in consequence of his avowed repentance for his previous conduct to her, and in consequence of his expressed wish to see her.

“ and gif ze wer thair in particular (1)? and gif I
 “ had maid my estait (2)? gif I had takin Paris *
 “ and Gilbert (3) to wryte to me? and yat I wald
 “ send Joseph away. I am abaschit quha hes schawin
 “ him sa far (4); zea, he spak evin (5) of the mar-
 “ riage (6) of Bastiane.”

* “ This berer will tell you
 “ sumwhat upon this (7).”

“ ac nominatim, an tu hic esses (1)? an familiæ
 “ catalogum fecissem (2)? an Paridem et Gilber-
 “ tum (3) accepissem qui mihi scriberent? an Jo-
 “ sephum dimissura essem? Miror quis ei tantum
 “ indicarit (4); etiam usque ad nuptias (6) Sebas-
 “ tiani sermo pervenit (5).”

“ si vous estiez icy (1)? et si j'avoye faict quelque
 “ rolle de mes domestiques (2)? si j'avois prins
 “ Paris et Gilbert (3), afin qu'ils m'escrivissent? et
 “ si je ne vouloye pas licentier Joseph? Or je
 “ m'estonné qui luy en tant déclaré (4); car mesme
 “ il a tenu propos (5) de Sebastian (6).”

(1) This is the first hint concerning the adultery.
 But who the adulterer was, could never be known
 2 from

from the hint. No one is addressed by name. No one is alluded to by character. No one is pointed out with the slightest particularity. But the absurdity of all this, is greatly heightened by another circumstance. Mary went to see Darnly in his illness at Glasgow, with a *real*, or with a *pretended*, regard. Acting under the influence of either, she would *not* take her adulterer with her. This is obvious. Yet, obvious as it is, the forger has not seen it. And Darnly is represented as enquiring of her fore-runner, whether the adulterer was with her. With such an evident absurdity is the letter managed! "In particular," Scotch, and "nomina-
tim," Latin, have no correspondent word in French.

(2) "Maid my estait," says the Miscellaneous Remarker *, is French, *faire un etat*, to make up a list of the officers of one's household. The Latin accordingly renders it, "an familiæ catalogum fecissem?" And the French thought so little of *faire un etat*, that it turns the Latin into "si j'avoye fait quelque rolle de mes domestiques." But, in *any* sense of the words, where is the *propriety* of them? Why should Darnly ask, whether she had made "quelque rolle de domestiques," or "familiæ catalogum," or a list of the officers of her household? Was this the *commencement* of her royalty? or had she never formed her household *before*? She formed it, no doubt, when she first settled in Scotland. She must have formed it finally, if she had not done so

* P. 20.

before,

before, when she married Darnley. And the question is only one of those absurdities, which croud the letters from end to end, and which are some of the strongest marks of forgery in them. When the imagination is let loose into the regions of fiction, it requires a higher degree of judgment, than what the forger was able to exert, in order to keep its excursions within the lines of sobriety; to guard it against extravagance, while it is indulging in invention; and to secure a strain of probability, amid the facilities of falsehood.

(3) This was Gilbert Curle, mentioned in Paris's second confession *, and afterwards secretary to her in her English confinement.

(4) This is said in consequence of a peculiar disposition in the King. He was meanly suspicious. He was therefore at work continually, in prying into all the circumstances of Mary's conduct. And he was perpetually twisting and turning them, as far as his little ingenuity would allow him, to the hurt of her reputation. This appears sufficiently in Mary's *real* letter of January the 20th before. But I shall cite some of the clauses again. "Always
 " we persave him," she says, "occupeit and bissy
 " aneuch, to haif inquisition of our doyngis;
 " quhilkis, God willing, fall ay be sic, as nane fall
 " haif occasioun to be offendit with thame, or to
 " report of us any wayis bot honorably; howsoever
 " he, his father, and thair fautoris, speik; quhilkis,
 " we knaw, want na gude will to make us haif ado,

* Goodall, ii. 78.

“ gif thair power wer equivalent to thair myndis *.” By this extravagance of conduct, he was probably the author or the spreader of many calumnies, which the fools of faction still believe against Mary. He certainly was of one, which some of the lowest are still circulating in conversation, though none of them are weak enough, to lend their little sanction to it in print; the pretended amour of Mary with Rizzio †. And in this fictitious letter he is represented, perhaps not untruly, to be carrying his suspicious curiosity so far; as to procure information of every man and woman, that she took into her household, and even of every marriage, that was negotiating among them.—“ Yat I wald send Joseph away,” Scotch, “ an Josephum dimissura essem,” Latin, and “ si je ne vouloye pas licentier Joseph,” French. This is another proof, of the derivation of the French from the Latin ‡.

(5) Here

* Keith, Pref. viii.

† Keith, App. 124.

‡ The letter, to which I have referred above, is one of the many papers, that James Beaton or Bethune, Archbishop of Glasgow, and embassadour to the French court for Mary and for James, from 1561 to the time of his death in 1603, repositied by his will in the Scotch college at Paris. They consisted of the letters and other instruments relating to his long embassy, and the public records of his see. But both, for want of taste and discernment in the rectors of the college, lay for eighty years confused in bundles or heaps, placed in old trunks without locks, and kept in a wardrobe accessible to all. They were sure to suffer, therefore. They had been borrowed by the curious. They had been carried off by the unskilful. And they had been much diminished in their number. Yet many remained after all. These were perused, arranged in order of time, and formed into volumes with numbered pages, by the good-sense of the Reverend Mr. Lewis Limes, rector of the college, and of his brother Mr.

(5) Here the French, following another translation in Latin, varies equally from the present and the Scotch; "car" being substituted for "etiam" and "zea." And it is useful to note these little variations from the present Latin, because they arise from what I have already proved, but which had never been observed before; a Latin copy different from the present, and having all the eight letters in it.

(6) The French, having followed the Latin in lengthening the name of "Bastiane" into "Sebas-

Thomas Innes, the justly celebrated author of a critical Essay on the antient inhabitants of Scotland (Keith, Hist. 151, and Appendix 146.) Of these papers Keith published several, sent him by Mr. Thomas Innes, sometimes in the originals, and always in a translation. He published the present letter particularly, in one, and the original has been lately published, in *Histoire d'Elisabeth Reine d'Angleterre par Mademoiselle de Keralio*, v. 200—204. But the authoress additionally informs us, that the present Rector, Abbé Gordon, promises the publick a new history of Mary from these papers (iv. 100 and 337.) I am very glad to hear it. Yet, if I may presume to advise the Abbé, he will rather throw his new lights into the form of an historical disquisition, than of a history itself. The history of Mary at present is so interrupted in the course of events, and so broken in its impression upon the heart, by the necessary interposition of controversy; that it is in vain to write the one before the other is settled. Where almost every inch of ground is to be maintained with the sword, as it were, there can be no consistence of history preserved. Narration will run off, in spite of itself, into dissertation. And the page of fact and reflexion, will be loaded with notes to ascertain the one, and will be encumbered with remarks to justify the other. History, therefore, is a very improper vehicle for such information. It can only be conveyed by dissertation. Here controversy has its full scope, and the conduct of Mary may thus be ascertained, with all the powers of argument, of satire, and of eloquence, combined in her defence.

"tian,"

“tian,” by some mistake drops all notice of the marriage.

(7) “This berer will tell you sumwhat upon this.” What then was the bearer, Paris, to tell Bothwell concerning this? The King had asked, whether Mary had taken Paris and Gilbert to be her private secretaries. Mary reports this question in a letter to Bothwell. And she adds, that Paris himself, who carried the reporting letter, should tell him some more particulars concerning the question. What then was he to tell? I cannot possibly conjecture what. I therefore consider the whole, as one of the multiplied absurdities, that glare upon us while we read the letters.

“This Paris,” says Buchanan, “was ane young man borne in France, and had levit certane zeiris in the housis of Bothwell and Setoun, and efterwart with the Quene*.” He appears in the *letter*, to be *just now* taken into the Queen’s service. He accordingly says, in his second mock-confession, that he first entered into credit with her on the road betwixt Kalendar and Glasgow †; which was this very day, January 23d. Yet, though he was so lately come into her train, she had confidence enough in him THIS VERY DAY, to make him *privy to the adultery*, by giving him a purse of crowns for Bothwell ‡; and even, IN A DAY OR TWO, to make him *privy to the murder itself*, by sending him with *this letter unsealed*. And all this while he was only “ane young man.”

* Detection, 21, Anderfon ii, and Jebb i, 244. † Goodall, ii. 76. ‡ Ibid. ibid.

The force of folly, I may safely affirm, cannot possibly go beyond this. But let us attend to another circumstance here.

I have already pointed out a number of variations, in the form and substance of the letters. Here we have one of a new nature. This marginal intimation was not in the letter, as it appeared at York. The commissioners there speak thus of the bearer: "Item, in the credit gifin to the berer, " quhome WE UNDERSTAND was Pareis *." But they *could* not have spoken in these terms, if the intimation had been then in the letter. They could not have said *they understood* Paris to be the bearer, if he was expressly stiled so by a reference to the side of the page. And they could not have attributed their knowledge of the point, to the information of the rebels; if the letter itself informed them of it explicitly. This note therefore, of Paris being the bearer of the letter, was not in the original shewn to the commissioners at York. Yet it was in that exhibited at Westminster. Hence it appeared in the English edition of the letters 1571, and appears in the present. But hence also it does *not* occur in the Latin, in the French, or in the Scottish edition of 1572. The Latin version, as I have shewn already, was made before the exhibition of the letters at Westminster, and in order to the exhibition of them in French there. Accordingly it omitted the present passage, as the original had not yet got it. The French equally omitted it, because the Latin had. And the Scotch edition of 1572 omitted it, equally with both; because this

* App. N^o vii.

professed itself to be merely a translation from the Latin, in the principal work, when, in the letters, it is evidently nothing more than a copy of the English. No translation from the Latin, or any other language, could possibly have made the English and the Scotch editions of the letters, to coincide regularly, word for word, from the beginning to the end. Nothing but transcription could do this. And, what is still more, the Scotch edition had all the eight letters of the English, when the Latin had only three of them. The Scotch edition of the letters, then, was only a transcript of the English. Yet in the title-page the Detection, to which the letters were annexed, is said to have been “translatit out of the Latine, quhilk was written be M. G. B.”, Mr. George Buchanan. And for this reason the Scotch editor was obliged to throw out the note, though it was in the very edition which he was copying at the time*.

We have also seen a fact before, that is nearly similar to this. At the end of Section the 3d, is a whole sentence in the English edition, which does not appear in either the French or the Latin. It was therefore, as we may presume from the present instance, not in the York original of the letter, though it must have been in the Westminster. But it differs from the present, in appearing upon the pages of the Scotch edition. And this, the only difference between them, may be easily accounted for; from that being a note on the margin of the page, and this being a sentence in the body of it; from that necessarily engaging the notice of the

* See Anderson, ii. title page.

pretended translator, and so being omitted in conformity to his pretensions; and from this very naturally escaping his notice, and so running readily into his copy.

All serves however to shew us very satisfactorily, the reason of these two omissions in the different editions of the present letter. But it also resolves a point of much more consequence to us. It proves a plain variation, in the York and Westminster originals of the letter. As shewn at York, the letter *certainly* had *not* the side-note attached to it, and *probably* had *not* the whole sentence incorporated with it. But, as shewn at Westminster, it had *certainly* the one, and *probably* had the other. Mary thus appeared at one time, to have penned the letter in her own hand *without* the passages; and at another, to have penned it *with* them. And we thus add one more demonstration, to the many that we have seen already; of the obvious and apparent forgery of all the letters, and of the ever-restless fluctuation of the spirit of knavery under it.

VII.—“ I inquyrit him of his letteris, quhairintil
 “ he plenzeit of the crueltie of sum (1); answerit,
 “ that he was astonischit (2), and that he was fa
 “ glaid to fé me, that he belevit to die for glaid-
 “ nes (3). He fand greit”

VII.—“ Ego eum de suis literis rogavi, in quibus
 “ questus erat de quorundam crudelitate (1); re-
 “ spondit, se nonnihil (2) esse attonitum, meumque
 VOL. II. E “ ei

“ ei conspectum tam jucundum, ut putaret se
 “ lætitiâ moriturum (3). Offendebatur”

VII.—“ Je l’ay enquis de ses lettres, ou il s’estoit
 “ plaint de la cruauté d’aucuns (1); il respondit,
 “ qu’il estoit aucunement (2) etonné, et qu’il se
 “ trouvoit si joyeux de me voir, qu’il pensoit mou-
 “ rir de joye (3).”

(1) The letters, as here called, or the letter, as with a more modern propriety called in the next paragraph, was one which Darnly wrote to Mary from Stirling, a few days after his abrupt departure from her at Holyrood-house, on September the 30th 1566. But we have already seen, that it is dangerous for forgers to meddle with history. And this passage furnishes us, with another proof of the important truth.

Mary immediately answered that letter of Darnly’s, very fully *. Yet nearly FOUR MONTHS AFTERWARDS she is made to ask him, what he meant by one point in it. She is even made to ask him, in the *first* moments of her visit to him upon his illness. And she is also made to notice the *intimated cruelty of some* in it, when it intimated no such thing. His grounds of complaint were not general and vague. They were specifick. He complained, that he was not trusted with power or advanced in honour by her, and that he was without any attendance from the nobility †. And Mary, in her answer, reminded him of the honour and power, which she had given to him, and which he had turned against her; recalled to his memory

* Keith, 349—350.

† Ibid. *ibid.*

her uniform offers, of making her servants to attend him; and suggested to him the disgust, which he had excited in the nobles, by the stateliness of his conduct towards them *. There was no complaint therefore, concerning the *cruelty* of some, in Darnly. Nor could there be any enquiries concerning it, in Mary.

But indeed all remembrance of such a letter, must have been long effaced from the minds of both, by the scenes that had passed before them since. Mary had been ill of a violent fever. The illness continued eleven days. Her life was in the utmost danger, for a part of the time. Her council actually issued a proclamation, for securing the peace; in full apprehension of the worst. Mary fully expected that worst. And, on the 25th of October, she lay to all appearance dead †. In all this danger the King, though formally apprized of it, with a gross unfeelingness and a stupid barbarity of soul, had never come near her. He came not, till she was out of danger ‡. And all this must have formed an object to the minds of both, much more important in itself, and much surer to engage their conversation when they met; than the letter before. She particularly was so affected by it, that she was often heard to wish for that last shelter of over-burdened nature, the grave §.

The baptism of the young prince had taken place, in the December afterwards, at Stirling. At this very period, the King, with a fullen absurdity of spirit, thought proper to take up his residence at

* Keith, 349—350. † Ibid. Hist. 352—353, and App. 133—136. ‡ Ibid. App. 135. § Ibid. Pref. viii.

Stirling; never to come near the Queen, never to appear in the entertainments, and so to publish his own folly, and their common unhappiness, to all the world. Mary felt this insult so sensibly, that she was obliged at times, to retire from the gaieties before her, and give vent to the fulness of her heart in secret*. And this was surely a subject, that would have much more demanded the attention of Mary, at her first conference with the King afterwards; than a slight letter, with slight complaints in it, written about three months before.

But another event had also happened, in this interval. On December the 27th, the King left Stirling, and retired to Glasgow, without taking the least notice of the Queen†. He was immediately seized with a dangerous illness. He was racked with violent pains. He was covered with pustules of a black and putrid nature. And his life was in the utmost danger‡. This surely, from its recentness, its continuance, and its importance, would have given a topick to the King and Queen at their meeting; infinitely more attractive than a petty letter, written nearly four months before. And all these events together would have so totally superseded the memory of such a letter, that it could not possibly have been the FIRST point of their conversation, and could hardly have been any at all.

(2) The Latin having, by some wild mistake, inserted “nonnihil” into the text; the French

* Ibid. Pref. viii. † Keith, Pref. vii. and Hist. 364.

‡ Detection, 16. Anderson, ii. and 242. Jebb, i.

adopts the mistake, and substitutes “aucunement” for the word *.

(3) Dr. Robertson acknowledges, that Mary shewed great kindness to Darnly in this visit; though with the true spirit of faction, he endeavours to turn all into artifice †. Yet, *in these letters*, she appears not to have shewed any kindness at all. *He* shews much to her, but *she* none to him. And this is such a plain proof of the forgery, that the Doctor should in common candour have pointed to it.

“greit fault that I was pensive (1).”

“eo quód tam cogitabunda essem (1).”

“cependant il estoit offensé de ce que j'estois ainsi
“pensive (1).”

(1) “Fand *greit* fault,” “offendebatur,” “estoit
“offensé;” “that,” “eo quód,” “de ce que;” and
“tam,” “ainsi,” without a correspondent “so” in
Scotch. All shew the exactness of the French, in
copying the Latin. And the addition of “cepen-
“dant” in the French, shews the copier there to
have been more attentive to connection than fidelity.
But the whole furnishes us, with another proof of the
forgery. That the Queen should be “pensive,”
is absurd. If she took the journey from a *real* re-
gard, her sensibilities would break from her in a

* See iii. 2. at the end, for a note concerning this import of the French word.

† i. 396.

full tide of affectionate tendernefs. If ſhe went from a *pretended* one, ſhe would endeavour to imitate the affectionatenefs that ſhe did not feel, would certainly carry on the hypocrify of tendernefs for a while, and could not poſſibly have been penſive at the VERY FIRST encounter.

Dr. Robertſon ſays thus, concerning Mary's viſit to Glaſgow at this period: "Notwithſtanding the
" King's danger, ſhe amused herſelf with excuſions
" to different parts of the country, and ſuffered near
" a month to elapſe, before ſhe viſited him at Glaſ-
" gow*." But ſurely the Doctor ſhould in *honeſty* have ſhewn, that ſhe *knew* of the illneſs; before he adduced this heavy charge againſt her. He ſhould certainly in *policy* not have referred to a letter, as he does immediately afterwards, which proves ſhe did *not* know of it. In the very next page, he ſpeaks of "a letter written with her own hand to
" her ambaffadour in France, juſt before ſhe ſet out
" for Glaſgow." And *this* proves deciſively, that *ſhe knew nothing of the illneſs till ſhe actually ſet out*. It is the letter which I have noticed before, as dated the 20th of January, only *the very day before ſhe ſet out*. In it ſhe ſpeaks of the King particularly. She mentions "with ſome bitterneſs," ſays Dr. Robertſon, "the King's ingratitude, the jealouſy with
" which he obſerved her actions, and the inclina-
" tion he diſcovered to diſturb her government;
" and at the ſame time talks of all his attempts,
" with the utmoſt ſcorn." YET SHE SAYS NOTHING OF HIS ILLNESS. Dr. Robertſon indeed has much

* i. 395. This is only the flanderous ribaldry of Buchanan, repeated again; ſee 63—64. Anderson, ii. and 259. Jebb, i.

aggravated the manner, in which she mentions the King. These are the words: "For the King our husband," she says, "God knawis alwayis our part towartis him; and his behaviour and thankfulness to us, is semblablement well knawin to God and the warld. Specialie our awin indifferent subjectis seis it, and in thair hartis, we doubt not, condemnis the samyne. Alwayis we persave him occupeit and bissy aneuch, to haif inquisition of our doyngis; quhilkis, God willing, fall ay be sic, as nane fall haif occasioun to be offendit with thame, or to report of us any wayis bot honorably; howsoever he, his father, and thair fautoris, speik; quhilkis, we knaw, want na gude will to mak us haif ado, gif thair power wer equivalent to thair myndis. But God moderatis thair forces well aneuch, and takis the moyen of executioun of thair pretensis fra thame; for, as we believe, thay fall find nane, or varray few, approveris of thair counsails and devyfis, imaginis to our displeor or mislyking*." There is nothing in all these expressions of Mary's, but a calm consciousness of her own innocence, and a firm confidence in her own security through that, against the enquiries and contrivances of the King concerning her. YET SHE SAYS NOTHING OF HIS ILLNESS. Had she known of it then, she must have mentioned it. Had she also intended to set out the very next day on a visit to him, she must have mentioned her intention. She would have done it, *in order* to shew her reconciliation to him; if it had been all *fictitious*. And, if it had been *genuine*, she could not

* Keith, Pref. viii.

have concealed it. It would have burst from her, in spite of herself. Hence "no tokens of sudden reconciliation appear," in the letter. They *could not*. She knew not of the only fact, that could produce them in a mind like hers; the dangerous illness of the King, attended with "symptoms violent and unusual," and "commonly imputed to the effects of poison" at the time. She heard of it, *after* she had written the letter. She heard of it from himself too, with a message expressing his grief for the past, professing his reformation for the future, and requesting her presence immediately. And she immediately hurried away to see him. "The Queen," says Crawford's Memoirs, "was no sooner informed of his danger, than she hastened after him*." "Hearing and advertised," says Lesley Bishop of Ross in an *un-answered* publication at the time, "that HE WAS REPENTANT AND SORROWFUL, and that he DESIRED HER PRESENCE; she without delay set out." Yet it was, as Buchanan himself has told us, "in the deep of a schairp wynter†." Notwithstanding this, says Lesley, "thereby to renew, quicken, and refresh his sprites, and to comfort his hart, to the amendment and repaying of his helth, lately by sicknes sore impaired; [she] hastened with such speed as she conveniently might," with such weather and at such a season, "to see and visit him at Glasco‡." She probably set out in the forenoon of January 21st; reached Linlithgow, sixteen miles off, that night;

* P. 12. † Detection, 17. Anderson, ii. and 242. Jebb, i. ‡ Defence, 12. Hence also Barnstable in Jebb, i. 407, calls it "profectio tam longa, tam impedita."

and got to Kalendar, about eight miles farther, the *next**. So clear, so honourable, and so generous, is the Queen's behaviour in this business! So strong too is the twist of mind, in her historian! And with such a sideling pace does it carry him, through all this period of the history!

But let me make another remark upon the present passage in the letter, for the better detection of the whole. That Darnly was "astonished" at the visit, and that Mary was "pensive" in the very first moments of it; is said with the same view, as Dr. Robertson says, that "the sudden transition will appear with a very suspicious air, and will be considered by them [who are acquainted with the human heart] as the effect of artifice." In this assertion, I think, the Doctor shews *himself* to be very little acquainted with the human heart indeed. Or, to speak more properly, and to do justice to the Doctor's understanding, his sagacity became a ready servant to popular prejudice, and an officious slave to the folly of the times. Mary certainly *visited* Darnly, in his illness at Glasgow. But *why* did she visit him? From artifice, say the letters, and that writer who has incorporated them into history. This, the writer intimates, is plain from her not visiting him, till he was "out of all danger." The fact is not true, and the inference is totally

* Appendix, N^o x. And hence Barnstable says, "Morbi rumor cum primū increpuit," then the Queen set out, Jebb, *ibid.* Thus the Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke of Chatelleraut, in 1543, "left Edinburgh — in the *evening*, being Monday the 3d of September,—and *next day* went to *Kalendar*" (Keith, 31.) But a fall of snow, probably, prevented the Queen from moving faster to or from Kalendar.

false. This very letter shews him not to be out of all danger. “He has,” it says, “almost slain me
 “with his breath, it is worse than your uncle’s; and
 “zit I cum na neirer unto him, bot in ane chyre
 “at the bed-feit, and he being at the uther end
 “thairof*.” “He declairit unto me,” it tells us,
 “his seiknes; and that he wald mak na testament,
 “but only leif all thing to me†.” But, not to imitate the Doctor in erecting history upon forgery, I turn to the cotemporary memoirs of Crawford. The Queen, they affirm, “notwithstanding her
 “resentment of the past injury,” the murder of Rizzio; “was extremely moved to find him *in so*
 “*bad a condition*, and waited very carefully upon
 “him for the space of ten days; till, *the strength of*
 “*his nature overcoming the venom of his disease*, he
 “was able to abandon that place‡.” And “after
 “this discovery of Mary’s sentiments,” says the Doctor, with a reference to the letter of January 20th, and to her not visiting him at first; “it was
 “scarce to be expected, that she would visit the
 “King” at all†. Yet this very circumstance overthrows his whole argument. If she had been acting from design, *she would have gone at first*. The design would have been *best promoted by that*. So unhappy is the Doctor in his reasonings! But he is worse than unhappy. When the Queen does *not* go to Glasgow; she is reproached with a “neglect” of the King, with no longer feeling “conjugal affection” for him, with “not even putting on the

* Sect. xx.

† Sect. viii.

‡ P. 12. The Queen was absent only ten days in all, by the Journal, N^o x. Appendix.

† i. 396.

“ appear-

“ appearance of this passion,” and with amusing
“ herself notwithstanding the King’s danger*.”
When she *does* go; then she is equally condemned,
as acting purely from design. “ To those who are
“ acquainted with the human heart,” we are *then*
told, “ this sudden transition will appear with a very
“ suspicious air, and will be considered by them as
“ the effect of artifice†.” Thus is the former
charge, even made to confirm the latter. And a
bold and false assumption is made to pervert a true
fact, in the hands of this party-writer.

Indeed every generous spirit must feel a strong
tendernefs of pity for the unhappy Queen, assaulted
with all the enginery of fraudulence by her unprin-
cipated brother, and abused with all the perversions
of sophistry by a modern historian. She could not
go to visit the King in his illness, *before* she knew
of it. Yet she is traduced for not doing so. She
is traduced, as if she *had* known of his illness. Yet,
all the while, the traducer has full evidence that
she did *not* know, lying directly before him. But
party seals up his eyes. And the sun shines in vain
upon wilful blindness. She goes at last, however.
She is very kind in her behaviour to the King. All
the world speaks of her tendernefs. But the writer,
who was blind before to the sun, can now discern
the MOTES that are *not* there. He can now pene-
trate below the semblance of tendernefs, and see
cruelty and murder lurking under it. Thus does
the violence of party, when party is the prevailing
tone of the nation, work wildly in bosoms that are
otherwise the seats of honour. And thus did Mur-

* i. 395.

† i. 396.

ray, in the stern flagitiousness of his ambitious policy, turn that high act of generosity and love in Mary, into an infernal deed of covered malignity; and so

Pour the sweet milk of Concord into Hell!

But let it also be remembered, in display of THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD OVER MAN; that, if Mary was singularly unhappy in the variety of attacks upon her, she has been peculiarly fortunate in the instruments of her defence. No other person, in such circumstances, can appeal to such justifying documents as she can. We see this strikingly exemplified in the preservation of that very letter, which I have noticed above. Written only the day before she set out to visit the King, it shews in the most satisfactory manner; that she had not *even then* heard of his illness, and that she did not *even then* intend to visit him. Such a letter, written in such a critical moment, is a very extraordinary monument in itself. It seems to have been peculiarly preserved for the confutation of those slanderous writers, who have been long arising among us. Yet, what shews it not to have been *humanly* preserved for that purpose, it has never been applied to the purpose before. And it is now applied, because a new æra is begun in the nation; when all the records of Mary's innocence, are daily coming forward to the eye of the publick; when all the petty libellers of her name, are shrinking abashed before them; and when her honour will be finally laid open, with a meridian splendour of evidence.

§ IV.

LETTER THE FIRST CONTINUED.

VIII.—“ I departit to supper (1). This beirer
 “ will tell zow of my arryving (2). He prayit me
 “ to retorne, the quhilk I did (3). He declairit
 “ unto me his seiknes (4), and that he wald mak
 “ na testament, bot only leif all thing to me (5);
 “ and that I was the caus of his maladie (6), becaus
 “ of the regrait that he had that I was sa strange
 “ unto him (7). And thus (8).”

VIII.—“ Ego disceffi ad coenam (1). Qui has
 “ fert tibi de meo adventu narrabit (2). Rogavit
 “ me ut redirem, quod et feci (3). Suum mihi
 “ morbum (4) explicavit, seque nullum testamen-
 “ tum facturum, nisi id unum, quod omnia mihi
 “ relinqueret (5); me autem fui morbi [causam]
 “ fuisse (6), quod molesté tulisset me tam alieno
 “ erga se animo fuisse (7). Ac postea (8).”

VIII.—“ Je m'en allay soupper (1). Celuy qui
 “ vous porte ces lettres vous fera entendre de ma
 “ venüe (2). Il me pria de retourner, ce que je
 “ fay (3). Il me declara son mal (4), adjoustant,
 “ qu'il ne vouloit point faire de testament, si non
 “ cestuy seule, c'est qu'il me laisseroit tout (5);
 “ et que j'avoye esté la cause de sa maladie (6),
 “ pour l'ennuy qu'il avoit porté que j'eusse l'affec-
 “ tion tant esloignée de luy (7). Et puis apres (8)”

(1) This

(1) This shews the paragraph preceding, to relate the interview *immediately on her arrival*; and the paragraph before that, to tell the King's *antecedent enquiries from her forerunner*.

(2) This sentence has been misplaced. It should be at the head of the paragraph preceding. There it is wanted. And here it is impertinent. "This beirer," Scotch; "qui has fert tibi," Latin; "celuy qui vous porte ces lettres," French.

(3) All the conversation that follows, therefore, is what is represented to have passed in the evening of the Queen's arrival at Glasgou, January 23, and *after supper*.

(4) What was the King's sickness? Crawford's Memoirs assert, that it "was generally reported the effect of POYSON *." Melvill says, that "he went to Glasgou, where he fell sick; *it being alledged, that he had got POISON from some of his servants †.*" Buchanan and Knox assert positively, that he was POISONED. Some of Mary's friends, both antient and modern, Blackwood, Caufin, and Carte, affirm his disorder to have been THE SMALL POX. These letters assert it to have been the GREAT POX ‡. Mr. Goodall and Dr. Robertson cannot decide with certainty, concerning its nature and its cause. Only the latter intimates, that it was commonly imputed to poison at the time. And Dr. Stuart gives this strong reason for suspecting, that the King was actually poisoned. "From what is observed by Melvill," he says, "from the circumstance of the subsequent murder of the King,

* P. 12.

† P. 77.

‡ Sect. xxth of this very letter.

" and

“ and from the characters of Murray and Bothwell,
 “ Morton and Lethington; there is a high probabi-
 “ lity, that they had corrupted some of his domes-
 “ tics, to take this method of destroying him*.”

The practice of poisoning, indeed, seems to have been as dreadfully common at this period in Scotland, as we know it to have once been since in France. The King was alledged at the time, we see, to have been poisoned. Bothwell's family is said by Buchanan, to have been “ in France de-
 “ famit of poysoning;” and his servants are said to have been, “ for the same caus, sum tortu-
 “ rit, sum imprisonit, and all suspectit †.” But we know from an authority equal to Buchanan's, though anonymous, even from a letter of April the 3d, 1566, to Cecil; that one of Bothwell's servants confessed himself, and four of his fellow-servants, to have agreed upon assassinating or *poisoning* Bothwell, at the instigation of Lethington; and that the other servants, upon exa-

* See Goodall, i. 324, Robertson, i. 394, and Stuart, i. 187. The Doctors Stuart and Robertson refer to Keith, 364, for Bishop Lesley asserting the disorder to be the Great Pox. But why do they refer to *Keith* for this? Why do they not refer to the Bishop himself? Even for this short reason, that they did not know where the Bishop had said so, and yet supposed Keith to have known. The fact is, I believe, that Keith has made a mistake concerning the Bishop, and that the latter no where asserts what the former quotes him for.

† Detection, 51. Anderson, ii. and 255. Jebb, i. The mother of Murray is said in Jebb, i. 405, to have been an adept in poisoning, a *Countess of Soisons* in her day. And Elizabeth is intimated in Moyse 128, to have put forth her hand in experiments of poisoning upon King James. See also Appendix, No. xvi.

mination,

mination, confessed the same*. Morton also was strongly suspected, of poisoning the Earl of Mar first, and the Earl of Athol afterwards; and was more than suspected, of poisoning Lethington†. And, to mount up to the first and leader of this profligate triumvirate MURRAY, the Queen was apprehensive herself of being poisoned, by some Protestants about her; Ruthven gave her a ring, as a pretended security from their poison; Murray considered the security, as intended against *himself*; and urged Mary, to punish Ruthven for furnishing it‡. The King therefore was assuredly poisoned. Crawford's and Melvill's united allegations, prove decisively the general opinion at the time to have been, that he was. The actual murder of the King so speedily afterwards, confirms that opinion, and corroborates those allegations, very strongly. And the practice of poisoning, so familiar to the wretches concerned in the murder, lends a great addition of weight to all, and carries all into a moral certainty.

That he was poisoned then, was the *first* opinion. This appears from Crawford and Melvill. That he had either the Small or the Great Pox, was only a subsequent surmise. Yet, what is very surprizing, both the surmise and the opinion make their appearance together, in this letter. Thus Darnly is called "this pokische" or pocky "man;" *not* having the small pox, as Dr. Robertson interprets the word §, as Blackwood intimated at the time, as

* Keith, App. 167.
Melvill, 118, Jebb, ii. 268, Crawford, 347—348, and Moyse, 32, and 35.

† Lestæi Vita, 10, in Anderson, i.
‡ Keith, App. 125.

§ Hist. i. 394.

Causin intimated afterwards, and as Buchanan's Latin intimates here, in direct contradiction to his own Detection *, by its version of the main word into "variolato;" *but* infected with *the* pox, that greater one, to which the word *pocky* has always been emphatically referred. And accordingly the Queen refuses to sleep with him, because "he be-
 "hovit to be purgeit" first †. Yet another passage hints, that he was poisoned. "He is not over
 "mekle deformit," it says, "zit he hes RESSAVIT
 "verray mekle: he has almaist flane me with his
 "braith; it is worse than zour uncle's; and zit I
 "cum na neirer unto him, bot in ane chyre at the
 "bed-feit, and he being at the uther end thairof ‡." That these words were meant to intimate he was poisoned, we know from Buchanan himself §. So contradictory is Buchanan, to poison the King in one part of this letter, and to give him the small pox in another. So contradictory too is this very letter, as, in the compass of a few lines only, to pronounce the King a pocky man, and yet to insinuate that he was poisoned! All this arises from the contrary opinions, entertained generally at the time. It was first believed, that he was poisoned. It was afterwards surmised, that he was poxed. The former, no doubt, was the report of the physicians, the servants, and the Queen. The latter was the counter-report circulated by the poisoners, I suppose, to shield themselves from detection; and afterwards varied by a mistake in Buchanan, Blackwood, and

* P. 16. Anderson, ii; p. 242. Jebb, i. † Sect. xii.
 ‡ Sect. xx. § Detection, 50—51. Anderson, ii. and
 Jebb, i. 254—255.

Causin, into a report of the small pox. And two of these reports very astonishingly meet together in the Scotch of this letter, and even all three in the Latin of it. This therefore proves the forgery very evidently. Different people at different times might think differently, concerning the disorder. But one person could not at one time. The Queen, particularly, could not intimate that the King was poxed, and yet in the same breath insinuate that he was poisoned. And she could still less declare his disorder to be poison, to be the great pox, and to be the small pox, all in one instant.

(5) “Mak na testament, but only leif all thing to me,” Scotch; “nullum testamentum facturum, nisi id unum, quod omnia mihi relinqueret,” Latin; “ne vouloit point faire de testament, sinon cestuy seule, c’est qu’il me laisseroit tout,” French. The exact conformity of the French to the Latin, is remarkable.

(6) *Causam* is, by some neglect of the press, omitted in Goodall’s edition. It is in Jebb’s*. And it is also in the French.

(7) This is another proof of the forgery. The King’s disorder is ascribed to the pox, to poison, and to regret. The last, to be sure, is a most dangerous cause of sickness; especially in minds so finely and elegantly organized, as Darnly’s was. It worked very violently in him. Regret racked him with dreadful pains in his body. Regret threw out the black and putrid pustules all over him. And regret gave a baleful taint to his breath. It

* i. 271.

was both the poison and the pox to him.—“ That
 “ I was sa strange unto him,” Scotch; “ me tam
 “ alieno erga se animo fuisse,” Latin; “ que j’eusse
 “ l’affection tant esloignée de luy,” French.

(8) “ Thus” Scotch; “ postea,” Latin; “ puis
 “ apres,” French.

“ he said, Ze ask me (1) quhat I mene be the cruel-
 “ tie contenit (2) in my letter? It is of zow alone,
 “ that will not accept my offeris and repentance(3).”

“ inquit, me rogas (1) quid sibi velit illa crudelitas
 “ cujus mentio est (2) in meis literis? Ad te unam
 “ id spectat, quæ meas pollicitationes ac poeniten-
 “ tiam recipere non vis (3).”

“ vous de demandez (1), dit-il, que veut dire ceste
 “ cruauté dont je fay mention (2) en mes lettres?
 “ Cela s’adresse seulement a vous, qui ne voulez
 “ recevoir mes promesses ny ma repentance (3).”

(1) How strangely does this come in here! The
 question was asked before supper. He then “ an-
 “ swerit,” that—he was astonished and glad to see
 her. But after supper, without any fresh question,
 he answers to the point at once. Just so it is with
 “ words froze in northern air.” The question is put
 in autumn, and the answer is spoken in the spring
 following.

(2) “ Quhat I mene be the crueltye contenit,”
 Scotch; “ quid sibi velit illa crudelitas cujus mentio
 F 2 “ est,”

“ est,” Latin; “ que veut dire ceste cruauté dont
 “ je fay mention,” French.

(3) The King is made to account for the cruelty, falsely averred to be intimated in his letter to the Queen; and to say that he meant the Queen’s cruelty to him, in not accepting his offers and repentance. Here the forger becomes more entangled, in his own perversions of the history. There were no offers made, and there was no repentance averred, in the letter. Let his own historian tell us the contents of it. “ He wrote to Mary,” says Dr. Robertson *, “ and mentioned two things as grounds
 “ of disgust. She herself, he said, no longer admit-
 “ ted him into any confidence, and had deprived
 “ him of all power; and the nobles, after her ex-
 “ ample, treated him with open neglect, so that he
 “ appeared in every place without the dignity and
 “ splendor of a king.” Where is the repentance, and where are the offers, in all this? But let us go to that, which is Dr. Robertson’s authority for his account of the letter, an address of the Privy Council of Scotland to the Queen Dowager of France. “ In
 “ the letter he wrote the Queen,” they say, “ he
 “ grounds a complaint on two points; one is, that
 “ her Majesty trusts him not with so much autho-
 “ rity, nor is at such pains to advance him, and
 “ make him to be honoured in the nation, as she at
 “ first did. And the other point is, that nobody at-
 “ tends him, and that the nobility desert his com-
 “ pany. To these two points the Queen has made
 “ answer †.” Where then, let me repeat, is the re-

* i. 376.

† Keith, 350.

pentance of Darnly in this letter, and where are his offers? No where. Yet the forger has the impudence to insert both. And Dr. Robertson has the modesty, even when he gives an account directly contrary to the forger's, not to hint at the slightest fraud in him.

“ I confes that I have failit, bot not into that quhilk
 “ I ever denyit (1); and sicklyke hes failit tò (2)
 “ findrie of zour subjectis, quhilk ze have forge-
 “ vin (3).

IX.—“ I am zoung.

X.—“ Ze will fay (4), that ze have forgevin
 “ me oft tymes, and zit yat I”

“ Fateor a me peccatum esse, sed non in eo quod
 “ semper negavi (1); peccavi etiam adversus (2)
 “ quosdam civium tuorum, quod mihi abs te con-
 “ donatum est (3).

IX.—“ Ego sum adolescens.

X.—“ Ac tu dicis (4), quod post veniam sæpe
 “ abs te datam, adhuc”

“ Je confesse, que j'ay grandement offensé, mais
 “ non en ce que j'ay tousjours desnié (1); j'aussi
 “ peché a l'encontre (2) d'aucuns de vos citoyens,
 “ ce que vous m'avez pardonné (3).

IX.—“ Je suis jeune.

X.—“ Vous dites (4) cependant, qu’après m’avoir
 “ souvent pardonné (3),”

(1) This alludes to the King’s share, in the assassination of Rizzio. That share he publicly and formally denied. And to make him deny it now to Mary, is only giving him a proper consistency of character. But Mary never believed him. This appears from the abstract of her answer to his letter, as given us by the Privy Council. “ To these two
 “ points,” they say, “ the Quene has made answer:
 “ that, if the case be so, he ought to blame himself,
 “ not her; for that,—altho’ they who did per-
 “ petrate the murder of her faithful servant, had en-
 “ tered her chamber with his knowledge, having
 “ followed him close at the back, and had named
 “ him the chief of their enterprize; yet would she
 “ never accuse him thereof, but did always excuse
 “ him, and was willing to appear as if she believed
 “ it not*.” And, after such an answer as this to his letter, even Darnly himself could not have had the folly, to deny it to the Queen again.—“ Grande-
 “ ment” is *added* in the French.

(2) The Latin has here made a strange mistake, and drawn in the French after it. “ Sicklyke,” in such a manner, “ hes failit tō,” have also failed in their duty, “ findrie of zour subjectis,” meaning Murray, Lethington, &c. But the Latin, with a wildness that I hardly know how, upon any principles of construction, to account for, has rendered the clause thus, “ peccavi etiam adversus quosdam civium

* Keith, 350.

“ tuorum;”

“ tuorum ;” and the French comes shambling behind it in the same awkward pace, “ j’aussi peché
 “ a l’encontre d’aucuns de vos citoyens.” And yet, gross as this corruption of the meaning is, it was first observed by Mr. Goodall ; and produced as one of his proofs, against the originality of the French *.

(3) “ Zour subjectis,” by the republican pen of Buchanan, is absurdly rendered “ cives” in Latin † ; and is therefore changed into “ citoyens” in French. “ Quhilk ze have forgevin,” meaning which subjects, in consequence of the blunder above is thus translated, “ quod mihi abs te condonatum est,” and “ ce que vous m’avez pardonné.”

(4) “ Ze *will* say,” Scotch, “ tu dicis,” Latin, and “ vous dites,” French.

“ retorne to my faultis (1). May not ane man of
 “ my age, for lacke of counsell (2), fall twyse or
 “ thryse, or inlacke of his pomeis, and at last (3)
 “ repent himself, and be chastisit be experience (4)?
 “ Gif I may obtene pardoun, I protest I fall never
 “ mak fault agane (5). And I craif na uther thing,
 “ bot yat we may be at bed and buird togidder, as
 “ husband and wyfe (6): and gif ze will not con-
 “ sent heirunto, I fall never ryse out of zis bed. I
 “ pray zow, tell me zour resolutioun. God knawis
 “ how I am punisshit for making my”

* See i. 91—93.

† So also in Hist. xvi. 324, &c.

“ ad peccata redeo (1). Nonne homo, quâ ego
 “ sum ætate, consilio destitutus (2), bis aut ter labi
 “ potest, aut pollicitis non stare, ac deinde (3) fui
 “ errati poenitere, et rerum usu (4) corrigi? Quod
 “ si veniam impetrare potero, polliceor me nun-
 “ quam posthac peccaturum (5). Nihil autem
 “ aliud peto, nisi ut communi mensâ et lecto, tan-
 “ quam conjuges, utamur (6): ad hæc nisi tu consen-
 “ tias, nunquam ex hâc lecto resurgam. Te rogo,
 “ ut mihi indices quid decreveris. Novit autem
 “ Deus quid poenarum feram, quod Deum”

“ je returne en semblables fautes (1). Une homme
 “ de mesme age que je suis, et destitué de conseil
 “ (2), ne peut il pas faillir deux ou trois fois, ou ne
 “ tenir pas quelque-fois promesse, et apres (3) se
 “ repentir de sa faute, en se corrigeant par l’usage
 “ des occurrences (4)? Que si je puis obtenir par-
 “ don, je promets cy apres de ne plus offenser (5).
 “ Je ne vous demande rien d’avantage, sinon que
 “ nous ne faisons qu’une table et un liât, comme
 “ ceux qui sont mariez (6): a cela si vous ne con-
 “ sentez, je ne releveray jamais de ce liât. Je vous
 “ prie, de me faire entendre ce que vous avez deli-
 “ beré. Car Dieu scayt quelle peine je porte, de
 “ ce que j’ay”

(1) “ Ze have forgevin me oft tymes, and zit
 “ yat I returne to my faultis,” Scotch; “ post ve-
 “ niam abs te datam, adhuc ad peccata redeo,”
 Latin; and “ apres m’avoir souvent pardonné, je
 “ returne en semblables fautes.” The Latin de-
 parting from the Scotch in the turn of the expres-
 sion, the French departs too.

(2) “ Ane

(2) “Ane man of my age, for lacke of counsell,” Scotch; “homo quâ ego sum ætate, consilio destitutus,” Latin; and “une homme de mesme age que je suis, et destitué de conseil,” French.

(3) “At last,” Scotch; “deinde,” Latin; “apres,” French.

(4) “Experience,” Scotch; “rerum usu,” Latin; “l’usage des occurrences,” French.

(5) “Gif,” Scotch; “quòd si,” Latin; “que si,” French.

(6) All this speech of Darnly’s, is in direct violation of historical truth. He was *not* the man, which he is here represented to be. He was *very different*. His great aim was not the happiness of conjugal affection. “So far as things could come to our knowledge,” say the Privy Council of Scotland, “he has had no ground of complaint: but, on the contrary, that he has the very best of reason to look upon himself, as one of the most fortunate princes in Christendom; could he but know his own happiness, and make use of the good fortune which God has put into his hands*.” But without one atom of ability for business, and without one particle of discretion in dignity, he was childishly eager for authority. He was a mere eunuch in ambition. “Multum cupiit, nihil potuit.” And, to obtain this authority, he entered into the business of murdering Rizzio, in the very presence of the Queen, then several months gone with child. This was such an act of brutal savageness, as shews him to have been a monster in feeling and in folly.

* Keith, 350.

And a speech like this put into his mouth, therefore, is a violent breach of the unity of character, and a full evidence of the general forgery.—“ At
 “ bed and buird togidder as husband and wyfe,”
 Scotch; “ communi mensâ et lecto, tanquam con-
 “ juges, utamur,” Latin; and “ nous ne faisons
 “ qu’une table et un liât, comme ceux qui sont
 “ mariez,” French.

“ God of zow, and for having na uther thocht but
 “ on zow (1); and gif (2) at any time I offend
 “ zow, ze ar the caus, becaus, quhen ony offendis
 “ me, gif, for my refuge (3), I micht playne unto
 “ zow, I wald speik it unto na uther body (4); bot
 “ quhen I heir ony thing, not being familiar with
 “ zow, necessitie constrains me to keip it in my
 “ breist (5); and yat causes me to tyne my wit for
 “ verray anger (6).”

“ mihi te fecerim, ac nihil aliud nisi te cogitem
 “ (1); quòd si (2), quando te offendam, tu ipsa
 “ in causâ es, nam, cùm aliquis me offendit, si id
 “ perfugium haberem (3), ut apud te queri possem,
 “ ad neminem alium querelam deferrem (4); sed
 “ si quid audio, nec te familiariter utor, cogor
 “ id in pectore clausum tenere (5); quæ res ita me
 “ angit, ut mentem et consilium mihi prorsus ex-
 “ cutiat (6).”

“ fait de vous un Dieu, et que je ne pense a autre
 “ chose qu’a vous (1); que si (2) je vous offense
 “ quelque-

“ quelquefois, vous en estes cause, veu que, quand
 “ on m’offense, si j’avoie ce refuge (3), que je me
 “ peusse plaindre vers vous, je ne feroie ma com-
 “ plaint a autre (4); mais si j’entend quelque
 “ chose, et que je n’aye familiarité avec vous, je
 “ suis contraint de la retenir close en mon cœur
 “ (5); ce qui tourmente tellement, qu’il m’oste du
 “ tout l’entendement et le conseil (6).”

(1) This idolatry of Darnly’s is something like, what the Heathens practised at times. They whipt and scourged their idols occasionally, if they did not indulge them in their wishes. And, to speak seriously, we may here see the impudent forgery of the letter in its proper view, if we only turn to two or three circumstances in Darnly’s conduct. He entered into a *formal* and *express* agreement, with the ruffians who committed the murder upon Rizzio, of doing it even “ in presence of the “ Queen’s Majesty,” and of supporting them afterwards for it. He actually *solicited* them to do it. He even intended to have done it *with his own hand*, if they had not undertaken it for him*. At last he not only united with them to do it, but actually *insisted* upon their doing it, *in her very presence*, and *at her very table*. So attacked, the devoted victim very naturally fled behind her for refuge, laid hold of her garments for protection, and threw his arms around her waist for security. Even there he was attacked by these wretched assassins, who rushed upon him so eagerly there, as to over-

* Goodall, i. 268 and 264.

throw the table upon the Queen, with the meat and candles on it. The Countess of Argyle, natural sister to the Queen, and one of her guests at the time, snatched up one of the candles in a hurry. By the light of this, and of that on the ground, Rizzio, shrinking as he was behind the Queen, was stabbed by one of the villains *over her very shoulders*. The blow was aimed with so much nearness to the Queen's face, that, as she afterwards declared, "she felt the coldness of the iron" in its movement by her cheek. It was also struck with so much fury, that the striker could not recover the dagger, but was obliged to leave it sticking in the body. The poor man was then forced from his hold, while a *dagger was held up against herself*, by another of the ruffians, *in the very act to stab her*; and while even *a cocked pistol was pointed by another, at the very child within her*. He was at last dragged away, bleeding and screaming, amidst the threats and intreaties of the Queen, into an adjoining chamber; and instantly dispatched there by the swords and daggers of these desperately mad murderers, with no less than *fifty-six* wounds *. And, when the provost and citizens of Edin-

* The person who presented the pistol to her, is said by Barnstaple in his *Maria Stuarta* (Jebb, i. 396) to have been "Andreas Carreus." But Bedford and Randolph, in a letter at the time, mention "Andrewe Car of Fawdenside," as the person "whom the Queen sayth *would have stroken her with a dagger*." And they say it was "one Patrick Balentine,—who, also her Grace sayth, *offered a dag against her belly with the cock down*" (Robertson, ii. 357). The wretch also who struck Rizzio over her shoulder and so near her cheek, was George Douglas; who did it with the King's own dagger, cunningly snatched by him from the King's side (Melvill, 64). And the Queen accordingly refused

Edinburgh came down to the rescue of their Queen, so outrageously insulted by this body of

refused to pardon Car and Douglas; when she pardoned even Balentine himself, with all the rest (Murdin, 763). These three peculiar monsters of enormity ought to be dragged forth into particular view, and their names branded with a particular mark of infamy, for their conduct upon this occasion. The honour of humanity demands it at our hands.

Let me also remark, that Mr. Goodall, i. 247—272, has thrown a new light upon the motives and plan of this horrid transaction, but has confounded history and himself concerning one circumstance leading to it. “David,” says Buchanan, Hist. xvii. 345, “interea singulos circumibat, animosque per-
“tentabat, quid de absentibus decreturus quisque esset, si a re-
“liquo conventu Προβελος legeretur.” This he understands to mean, That David asked each what each would vote for concerning the exiled lords, if each was chosen a lord of the articles. But it clearly means, as it had always been interpreted to mean (Spotswood, 194), that he asked the lords singly how they would vote, if he, David Rizzio, should be chosen speaker by the parliament. Προβελος can never signify a lord of the articles. Buchanan’s appellation for those lords in general, the only time (I believe) that he mentions them, is “Apolecti” (Hist. ix. 167). Nor can Προβελος signify any officer of state, except the speaker or president of an assembly. The same interpretation is also given, as Mr. Goodall himself acknowledges (i. 272), in Knox’s history of the times; who equally with Buchanan hints at the design, of giving the Chancellorship to David (p. 393). And it occurs also in Crawford’s Memoirs. “David” says the author, “—was likely to be chosen Chancellor (Speaker or President) in Morton’s stead,” p. 7. The fact indeed is obviously false, for the two grand reasons assigned by Mr. Goodall (i. 271), that David was not naturalized, and therefore could not be Chancellor to the kingdom; and that David did not understand Scotch, and therefore could not be Speaker to the parliament. But the faction circulated the lie. And all the factious, the Buchanans, the Knoxes, and the rabble-rout of sedition, with even some of the honest and the judicious, particularly the respectable author of the Memoirs, swallowed the lie without consideration.

banditti,

banditti, under the conduct of her husband; these brutal wretches, with an addition of savageness, declared to her face, that, if she offered to speak to the people, "they should cut her in collops, and cast her over the walls;" and their brutal captain, concurring in all their utmost savageness with them, called to the crowds, and commanded them to retire *. This is perhaps, when contemplated in all its varieties of horror, the time, the place, the woman, and the Queen; such a woman, and such a Queen; the pregnancy, the far-advanced pregnancy; the persons who were the actors, the man who was the leader, the deed, the mode, and the language; beyond any thing that occurs, among all the wildest eruptions of brutality and barbarism, in the human history. Yet the forger of this letter had the stupid effrontery, to make Mary the god of Darnly's idolatry, and to assert he had no other thought but on her; at a time too, when this execrable fact, with all its train of horrible particulars, was yet fresh and lively in the minds of the whole nation. He wanted to raise the character of the King, and to sink that of the Queen. He was therefore compelled to change the whole tenour of history, to cast the two characters anew, and to give each the other's part in this play of his. And he thus betrayed the forgery directly, to every mind.

But what says Dr. Robertson to this act of the King's? He says, as all mankind have ever said, and as common sense and common decency must

* Keith, 331—332, App. 123, Knox, Melvill, 64, and Crawford, 10.

for ever say. "Every circumstance here," he tells us, "fills us with horror.—The place, chosen for committing such a deed, was the Queen's bed-chamber," a closet within it. "Though Mary was now in the sixth month of her pregnancy," near the end of her seventh*, "and though Rizzio might have been seized elsewhere without any difficulty; THE KING PITCHED UPON THIS PLACE, that he might enjoy the malicious pleasure, of reproaching Rizzio with his crimes before the Queen's face †." And he afterwards says in general of the King, that "by his folly and ingratitude he lost the heart of a woman, who doated on him to distraction ‡." If however Dr. Robertson says true, the letters are the most impudent of liars. Or, if the letters are true, the Doctor must exchange situations with them. Two such intelligences cannot preside in one orb of history. Either the one, or the other, must be dislodged from it. The Doctor is undoubtedly true; and yet, strange to tell! *according to the Doctor himself*, the letters are *not* false. The Doctor himself still considers them as true. He formally vindicates their authenticity. He gravely interweaves them with the thread of his history. And he founds his accumulated slanders of Mary, in a peculiar manner, upon them. But how is this? *Can* light and darkness blend in the same sphere? *Can* the letters be at once convicted of gross and deliberate falsehoods in facts, and still be authentick in themselves? They certainly cannot. The Doctor

* Keith, 331.

† i. 358.

‡ i. 400.

himself is compelled to go against them. Yet still the Doctor asserts them to be genuine.

AND BRUTUS IS AN HONOURABLE MAN.

(2) In the clause preceding, “autem” is added in Latin, and “car” in French. In the present, “and gif,” Scotch, is answered by “quod si,” Latin; and “que si,” French.

(3) “For my refuge,” Scotch; “si id perfugium haberem,” Latin; and “si j’avoie ce refuge,” French.

(4) “I wald speik it to na uther body,” Scotch; “ad neminem alium querelam deferrem,” Latin; and “je ne feroie ma complaint a autre,” French.

(5) “Keip it in my breist,” Scotch; “in pectore clausum tenere,” Latin; and “la retenir close en mon cœur,” French.

(6) “Causes me to tyne my wit,” Scotch, to lose my understanding*; “mentem et consilium mihi prorsus excutiat,” Latin; “il m’oste du tout l’entendement et le conseil,” French. And “yat causes me,” Scotch; “quæ res ita me angit, ut,” Latin; and “ce qui tourmente tellement, qu’il,” French. All these passages concur to prove beyond a possibility of doubt, that the French was not the original, that the Latin was the original to it, and that the Scotch was no translation from either. Indeed the fact is so strikingly apparent, in these and a thousand other passages; that a reflecting mind is amazed at first, to think the discovery was left to Mr. Goodall.

* Sonnet xith.

XI.—“ I answerit ay unto him, bot that wald be
“ ovir lang to wryte at lenth (1). I askit quhy he
“ wald pas away in ye Inglis schip (2). He de-
“ nyis it, and sweris thairunto (3); bot he grantis
“ that he spake with the men (4).”

XI.—“ Ego semper ei respondebam, sed nimis
“ longum esset omnia perscribere (1). Rogavi eum
“ cur discessum adornaret in istâ nave Anglicâ (2).
“ Ille id pernegat, adjecto etiam juramento (3);
“ sed confessus est se cum Anglis (4) colloquu-
“ tum.”

XI.—“ Je lui respondoye tousjours, mais il se-
“ roit long de tout escrire (1). Je luy ay demandé
“ pourquoy ils deliberoit s'en aller en ce navoire
“ Anglois (2). Ce qu'il nia, voire avec jure-
“ ment (3); mais il a confessé avoir parlé avec
“ les Anglois (4).”

(1) This is another proof of forgery. That the Queen should repeat all the King's defences of himself, and should not repeat her replies to them; is contrary to every principle of the human heart. Our natural fondness for ourselves, puts us constantly upon a conduct the very reverse of all this. We shorten the defences, and we lengthen the replies. Or, if we are fair enough to give the full substance of the former, we are always partial enough to do so by the latter. And we see this very Queen act-

ing accordingly in this very letter; relating the message of apology sent her by Darnly's father, reciting the addition made to it by the bearer, but rehearsing all the substantial part of her reply to the former, and finally declaring that she silenced the latter. Yet the forger was obliged to take this unnatural course, as no other would carry him to his aim. To make the Queen reply to these pretended allegations of Darnly's, must have been to refute them at once. And he might as well have refuted them, in the opinion of every man of judgment; as he has betrayed the forgery which he wanted to prosecute, by not doing it. But he thought, no doubt, as Partridge the almanack-maker is said to have spoken, and as knaves of all times naturally think; that the men of judgment are to the fools of the world, only as one to a hundred; and that, if he could gain these, he cared little about those. The event indeed seems to have justified his choice awhile. The almanack-predictions of Partridge, retained their credit for years. The letters of Murray have not yet lost theirs. But the men of judgment will turn the tide of opinions, at last. Partridge has been long considered as an impostor. And Murray is daily hastening to join him, in that state of obscurity, where the letters and the almanacks will repose upon one shelf, once the favourites of many, and now the contempt of all.

(2) Here a fresh evidence of the forgery presents itself before us. At this time, January 23d, 1567, all design of passing away in an English or any other ship, had been long laid aside. It was
taken

taken up at least four or five months before. About September 24th *, Darnly mentioned it to Le Croc, the French embassadour. “He told me,”—says the embassadour in a letter of October 15th, “that he had a mind to go beyond sea, in a sort of desperation. I said to him what I thought proper at the time, but still I could not believe that he was in earnest.” But, as Lenox informed the Queen in a letter which she received on Michaelmas-day, it had been taken up even long before this time. “FORMERLY,” he says, “both by *letters* and *messages*, and *now* also by communication with his son, he had endeavoured to divert him” from it †. Le Croc afterwards says, in a postscript to his own letter, “now I believe he will not go out of the kingdom, though I perceive that he still entertains some displeasure ‡.” Accordingly, Sir Robert Melvill says in a letter of Oct. 22d from London, “sens my depairture I

* The Queen departed from Stirling on September the 25th. “She departed ten or twelve days ago,” says a letter of October the 8th (Keith, 348). Lenox also came to Stirling “while the Queen was absent,” staid there “two or three days,” went back to Glasgow, wrote a letter to the Queen, and she received it “on St. Michal’s day” (Keith, 348). She departed and he came, therefore, on the 25th. *After* her departure it seems at first to have been, that Darnly communicated his design to Le Croc. “The Queen,” says Le Croc, “is now returned from Stirling to Lisleburgh;—the King however abode still at Stirling, and he told me there that he had a mind to go beyond sea.” Yet the communication appears immediately afterwards, to have been made *before* the Queen’s departure; as “since that time” of the communication, adds Le Croc, “the Earl of Lenox, his father, came to visit him.” The conferences with Le Croc, therefore, took place on the 24th at latest.

† Keith, 348.

‡ Ibid. 345—347.

“ heir *he is stayit*, bot hes not fens come neir the
 “ *Quene**.” And that Le Croc was right in
 his belief, and Melvill in his intelligence, time
 shewed. The ship, which Darnly had in readiness,
 was dismissed; and he still continued in Scotland.
 But this perversion of the history was made, for the
 purpose of new-decorating the character of Darnly.
 And that infamous pimp to the lust of power in
 Murray, Buchanan, was not afraid to venture upon
 the same perversion, even in history itself. “ *Ibi*,”
 at Holyrood-house, “ *cúm rescitum esset*,” he says
 in full opposition to his own Detection †, “ *Regem*
 “ *convalescere, ac vim veneni ætatis vigore et cor-*
 “ *poris firmitate naturali superatam*,” a fact that
 happened, as appears from the rebel journal it-
 self ‡, in the end of January 1567; “ *novum de*
 “ *eo tollendo consilium initur: aliquot etiam e no-*
 “ *bilitate in conscientiam sceleris asciti: cúm in-*
 “ *terea ad reginam delatum esset*, *Regem de fugâ*
 “ *in Galliam aut Hispaniam cogitare, eâque de re*
 “ *cum Anglis, qui navem in æstuario Glottæ stan-*
 “ *tem habebant, collocutum ||.*” Here the re-
 markable coincidence of the letter and the history,
 in an impudent distortion of the fact, shews the
 history to have been modelled upon the letter.
 Buchanan condescended to adopt the falsehoods of
 another, though he was himself an Original Genius
 in lying. He felt his mind impregnated with a
 peculiar portion of that spirit of falsehood, which is
 so largely possessed by the great “ Father of Lies,”
 and which he so liberally communicates to some
 of his chosen children. And he exerted this spirit

* Keith, 351. † P. 17. ‡ App. N° x. || Hist. xviii. 350.
 in

in his history, not merely for the petty purpose of accommodating his narrative to the letters, but with the grand view which he uniformly pursued afterwards*; that of abusing Mary, his patroness and benefactress; of branding her forehead with the hottest iron of infamy, which his understanding could provide; and of breaking down all the fences and guards of truth, in the eagerness of his knavery against her.

But Mary herself has told us a circumstance concerning him, that serves sufficiently to account for his flagitious conduct. “Buchanan,” she said, “is “KNOWN to be a LEWD MAN and ATHEIST †.” He was one of those wretched men therefore, who suffer their passions to beguile their understandings; who plunge into scepticism, to escape from sensibility; who destroy the tone of their minds, while they are blunting the force of their feelings; and at last become devoid equally of principle and of shame, ready for any fabrication of falsehood, and capable of any operation in villainy ‡.

(3) This

* App. N^o xii.

† Goodall, i. 311, from a letter written by the Earl of Shrewsbury and Mr. Beale to Queen Elizabeth (Cotton Library, Caligula, c. 9), and written (I suppose) in November or December 1581; as Mr. Beale was sent to Mary in November (Murdin, 1781), and Buchanan died in the September following (Ruddiman, Vita, 9). We have also another authority for the atheistical part of his character, “Georgius Buchananus,” says Cox in his life of Mary, was “*primum Calvinii partiarius, tum athæus*” (Jebb, ii. 35).

‡ Buchanan does not appear to have used much art, in working up the falsehoods, even of his Detection. He particularly seems to have often taken the very ready method of a fool’s

(3) This is perhaps a more impudent stroke of forgery, than any which we have hitherto met with. That the King's design of going abroad, which was first taken up in July or August at least, and even owned in September, should be referred by the history and the letter to the January succeeding; is certainly a very bold measure in impudence. But it is a greater surely, to make Darnly *deny* that he had ever such a design, to make him *swear* to the denial, and to make Mary *not* reply either to the affirmation or to the oath. The King, as I have already shewn, imparted his design to his father in August or July before. "Formerly, both by letters and messages, and now also by communication with his son, he had endeavoured to divert him" from it. The King also mentioned it to the French embassadour, as I have equally shewn, about the 24th of September, at Stirling. "He told me there, that he had a mind to go beyond sea, in a sort of desperation." YET HE IS HERE

falsifications, by giving the acts of his patrons to Mary, and Mary's to his patrons. This is strikingly apparent in the story of the proposed divorce at Craigmillar (Anderson, ii. 13—14, and Jebb, i. 241); where the overture, which was actually made by Murray and Lethington (Goodall, ii. 316—321), is attributed to Mary; and the very objection, which Mary herself made to it, is ascribed by this inverter of history to one of them. See also Anderson, i. 14. Defence of Mary. But in 1720, it seems, another Buchanan appeared at London, with another set of Mary's letters. These were eleven in number, all written to Bothwell, and found in his secretary's closet since his death (Keith, 367). Yet, as there was no Elizabeth to lend her bold sanction to these forgeries, they sunk at once under their own weight of imposition, "and dropp'd dead-born from the press."

MADE TO DENY IT. "Since that time," adds Le
Croc, "the Earl of Lenox, his father, came to visit
" him; and he has written a letter to the Queen,
" signifying, that it is not in his power to *divert his*
" *son from his intended voyage*, and prays her Majesty
" to use her interest therein." YET DARNLY IS
STILL MADE TO DENY THE DESIGN. "This let-
" ter from the Earl of Lenox," says Le Croc, "the
" Queen received on *Michaelmas-day* in the morn-
" ing; and that same evening the King arrived
" here, about ten of the clock. When he and the
" Queen were a-bed together, her Majesty took
" occasion to talk to him about the contents of his
" father's letter, and besought him to declare to
" her the ground of *his designed voyage*; but in
" this he would by no means satisfy her." YET
DARNLY IS STILL MADE TO DENY THE DESIGN.
"Early next morning," Le Croc goes on, "the
" Queen sent for me, and for all the Lords and
" other counsellors: as we were all met in their
" Majesties presence, the Bishop of Ross, by the
" Queen's commandment, declared to the council
" the King's intention to go beyond sea, *for which*
" *purpose he had a ship lying ready to sail*; and that
" her Majesty's information hereof proceeded not
" from the rumour of the town, but from a letter
" written to her by his own father the Earl of
" Lenox; *which letter was likewise read in council.*"
YET THE DARNLY OF THE LETTERS SWEARS HE
HAD NO SUCH PURPOSE. "And thereafter the
" Queen prayed the King to declare, in presence
" of the lords, and before me, the reason of *his pro-*
" *jected*

“ *jected departure*; since he would not be pleased
“ to notify the same to her, in private betwixt
“ themselves. She likewise took him by the hand,
“ and besought him for God’s sake to declare, if
“ she had given him any occasion for *this resolution*;
“ and entreated he might deal plainly, and not
“ spare her. Moreover all the lords likewise said
“ to him, that if there was any fault on their part,
“ upon his declaring it, they were ready to reform
“ it. And I likewise took the freedom to tell him,
“ that *his departure* must certainly affect either his
“ own or the Queen’s honour; that if the Queen
“ had afforded any ground for it, his declaring the
“ same would affect her Majesty; as on the other
“ hand, if he should *go away* without giving any
“ cause for it, this thing could not at all redound
“ to his praise.”—Yet forgery, with all “ the rash
“ dexterity of wit,” represents the King, as SWEAR-
ING he NEVER MEANT TO GO AWAY. “ After
“ several things of this kind had passed amongst
“ us, the King at last declared, that he had no
“ ground at all given him for *such a deliberation*;
“ and thereupon he went out of the chamber of
“ presence, saying to the Queen, Adieu, Madam,
“ *you shall not see my face for a long space*; after which
“ he likewise bad me farewell; and next, turning
“ himself to the lords in general, said, Gentlemen,
“ Adieu. *He is not yet embarked*; but we receive
“ *advertisement from day to day*, that he still holds
“ *on his resolution*, and keeps a ship in readiness.”
Yet Mary is described by this ANNIUS of Scot-
land, as ADMITTING his DENIAL of any such re-
solution,

folution, WITHOUT OBJECTION and WITHOUT REPLY. And, as Le Croc subjoins in a postscript to this letter, “ during the five or six days I continued “ at Lisleburgh,” Edinborough, “ after the Queen “ left it,” who left it on the 7th or 8th, and reached Jedborough on the 8th or 9th, of October *; “ the King, who had gone to Glasgow, sent “ me word, to come and meet him half way between Lisleburgh and Glasgow. I obeyed him, “ and found his father, the Earl of Lenox, with “ him. We had *much* communing together, and “ I remonstrated to him *every* thing that I could “ think of: and *now I believe he will not go out of “ the kingdom*; though I can perceive that he still “ entertains some displeasure. I came hither to “ Jedburgh, *on purpose to signify to the Queen, what “ the King had spoken unto me, and what I had said “ to him* †.” Yet the Queen is pictured by this caricatura-painter, as swallowing the OATHS of the King that he had NEVER formed such a resolution, WITHOUT HESITATION and WITHOUT ANSWER. But, what aggravates the impudence of all this, the false account of the whole was drawn up, inserted in the letters, and published to the Scotch parliament, to the English commissioners, and to the world; at a time when the true was known to so many; when the whole had been stated in a letter from Lenox to Mary, had been canvassed in conversation betwixt Lenox, Darnly, and Le Croc, and had even been formally brought before the privy council. And this gives a ruffian air of ef-

* Goodall, i. 237, 303, and 308.

† Keith, 346—347.

fronterry to the *letters*, superiour to any which the *history* can bear; the latter not being published till some years afterwards, and the former within a few months only from the real incidents.

(4) The coincidence of the letter and the history here, is remarkable. He grants, says the former, “that he spake with the men.” He owns, says the latter, “*eâ—de re cum Anglis, qui navem in æstuario Glottæ stantem habebant, collocutum.*” And what shews the Latin translation to have been made by the hand of Buchanan himself, “the men” of the Scotch are rendered “*cum Anglis*” by the Latin, and consequently “*avec les Anglois*” by the French. Only the historical forger is not so impudent, as the epistolary is. *That* set his name to the history, *this* did not to the letters. Such a circumstance would pull back the forward steps, even of immodesty itself. Accordingly Buchanan in his narrative plainly allows, that the King *had* formed a design of going abroad; while Lethington in the letters makes him deny it, and even to sanction his denial by oaths.

“ Efter this I inquyrit him of the inquisitioun (1)
 “ of Hiegait (2). He denyit the same, quhill I
 “ schew him the verray wordis was spokin. At
 “ quhilk tyme (3) he said, that Mynto had adver-
 “ tist him, that it was said that sum (4) of the
 “ counsell had broucht an letter to me to be sub-
 “ scrivit, to put him in presoun, and to slay him
 “ gif

“ gif he maid resistance (5): and he (6) askit the
“ fame at Mynto himself; quha answerit, that he
“ belevit ye fame to be trew. The morne (7) I
“ will speik to him upon this point (8). As to
“ the rest of Willie Hiegait’s, he confessit it (9),”

“ Postea rogavi de quæstione (1) Gulielmi (2)
“ Hiegait. Id quoque negavit, donec ipsa verba,
“ quæ prolata erant, ei detulisssem. Tum (3) dixit
“ se certiozem a Minto factum, dici quendam (4)
“ e concilio literas de se mittendo in carcerem, ac,
“ nisi pareret (5), occidendo, ad me detulisse ut
“ subscriberem: ac se (6) idem ex ipso Mynto quæ-
“ sisse; eumque respondisse, sibi verum videri. De
“ hōc capite (8) eum cras (7) conveniam. Quod
“ ad reliqua de Gulielmo Hiegait, ea confessus
“ est (9),”

“ Apres je l’ay enquis touchant la dispute (1) de
“ Gillaume (2) Hiegait. Ce qu’il a aussi desnié,
“ jusques a ce que je luy ay rapporté les mesmes
“ paroles qu’il avoit proferées. Alors (3) il dit,
“ qu’il estoit adverty par Minto, qu’on disoit,
“ qu’un (4) du conseil m’avoit apporté des lettres,
“ afin de les signer, pour le faire mettre en prison,
“ voir, s’il n’obeissoit (5), pour le tuer: et qu’il
“ (6) enquist le semblable de Minto; qui respondit,
“ que cela luy sembloit vray. De ce chef (8) je
“ luy en parleray demain (7). Quant au reste
“ touchant Gillaume Hiegait, il l’a confessé (9),”

(1) The Frenchman, deceived by the ambiguity of the word “quæstione,” rendered it “dispute,” and so altered the whole meaning.

(2) “Hiegait,”

(2) "Hiegait," Scotch; "Gulielmi Hiegait," Latin; "Gillaume Hiegait," French. "Quoque," Latin, and "aussi," French, are added in the next sentence.

(3) "At quhilk tyme," Scotch; "tum," Latin; "alors," French.

(4) "Sum," Scotch; "quendam," Latin; "un," French.

(5) "Maid resistance," Scotch; "nisi pareret," Latin; "s'il n'obeissoit," French.

(6) "And he askit," Scotch; "ac se quæfisse," Latin; "et qu'il enquist," French.

(7) Mary appears before to have pretendedly written this part of the letter, the evening after her arrival at Glasgow, the evening of January 24th, 1567. And "the morne" or next day must mean Jan. 25th.

(8) "This point," Scotch; "hòc capite," Latin; "ce chef," French. This Mynto was "Johne Stewart, of Mynto, Knycht, provest of Glasgow," and deeply embarked in the rebellion afterwards*.

(9) All this tale concerning William Hiegait, is very confusedly told here, and affords us another evidence of the forgery. On the 20th of January 1567, the day before the Queen set out for Glasgow, she wrote a letter to her embassadour at Paris. I have already made good use of it, in her favour.

* Keith, 437.

But I have still more to make. In this letter she explains the business, which is here alluded to. “A fervand of zouris,” she says, “namit William Walcar, came to our presens, being for the tyme at Sterveling: and declarit to us how it was not only oppinly bruted, bot alsua he had hard be report of personis quhome he esteimit lufferis of us, that the King, be the assistance of sum of our nobility, suld tak the prince our sone, and crown him; and being crownit, as his fader suld tak upon him the government,” *the very plan of usurpation*, that was afterwards pursued by Murray, instead of Darnly. “He [Walcar], being pressit, nominat *William Hiegait* in Glasguo, alsua zour fervand, for his cheif author.—Quhairupon we take occasion, with diligence to send for Hiegait; quha being *inquirit* in our counsell, of his communicatioun had with Walcar, he denyit, als weill apairt as being confronted togidder, that evir he talkit with the said Walcar upon ony sic purposis. Onlie this far he confessit, that he hard of a bruit how the King suld be putt in ward; and for his author in that poynt, namit a fervand of the Erle of Eglintonis callit Cauldwell; qua, being alsua sent for and examinat, expressitlie denyit, that evir he spak or entrit in sic termis with William Hiegait. This purpois of the bruit of the Kinges warding, wes schewen be Hiegait to the Laird of Mynto, quha agane clarit it to the Erle of Lenox, and be him the King was maid participant thair of: by quhais desyre and commandement, Hiegait agane (as he alle-
“ geit)

“ geit) fpak Cauldwell*.” This incident appears to be very different, from all the foregoing. It is recent enough, to have employed the conversation of the King and Queen, at their interview on Jan. 23d—24th, &c. The date of the letter reciting it, is only Jan. 20th before. But then it is fo told, as Mary could not have told it. She tells it on Jan. 20th. She is again made to allude to it, three days afterward. Let us compare the allusion and the recital together.

The *adulterous* Mary says, that she enquired of the King, concerning the inquisition of Hiegait before her council, and that he denied it, before she specified the very words that had been spoken. But why should Mary interrogate Darnly, concerning this inquisition? He knew nothing of the *fact* of the inquisition. Nor could Mary want to know any thing concerning *that*. And, as to the *object* of the inquisition, all that part of it which alone he could have denied, viz. that he himself was to take the Prince, crown him, and usurp all the royalty as regent to him; this did not appear in Hiegait’s inquisition at all. It was only in Walcar’s declaration to the Queen herself. And the very words spoken must have been Walcar’s, not Hiegait’s. On the mention of these, the King excused himself for having entertained such a scheme, by the intelligence which he received from Mynto, of a design to send him to prison, and to put him to death if he refused to go. But, by the King’s account, *Mynto* had apprized *him* of this reported design, *he* asked Mynto concerning it, and *Mynto*

* Keith, Pref. viii.

told *him* he thought the report true; when in fact Mynto told it, not to *him*, but to his *father Lenox*; when *Lenox* was the person, that communicated it to the *King*; and when the *King* afterwards spoke, not to Mynto, but to *Hiegait*, about it. Nor was this reported design such, as the *King* is here made to represent it, that “sum of the counsell had
“broucht ane letter to Mary to be subscrivit, to
“put him in presoun, and to slay him gif he maid
“resistence.” It was merely, that the *King* “fuld
“be put in ward.” Nor did Mynto declare *more* to *Lenox*, nor did *Lenox* communicate *more* to the *King*, nor did the *King* speak of *more* to *Hiegait*. And then as to “the rest of Willie Hiegait’s,” which “he confessit,” it is this very point again, about sending him to prision. With such wild confusion, is this incident alluded to by the *adulterous* Mary on the 23d of January; though it is very clearly related by the *innocent* Mary, on the 20th before! What *Walcar* said, is attributed to *Hiegait*. What *Lenox* said, is given to *Mynto*. What the *King* said to *Hiegait*, is addressed to *Mynto*. The great object of all is made very different. And, as the whole drift of the paragraph is calculated to exculpate the *King*, for having embarked in a measure, so violent, absurd, and unnatural; which was remotely suggested in all probability, by the very man, who executed it afterwards in all its parts, and who would soon have wrested the scepter out of the weak hands of such an usurper, when once it had been wrenched by him out of the *Queen’s*; so it proves the fact by endeavouring to excuse it,
and,

and, what is infinitely more important, proves to a demonstration the forgery of the letters, by its confused and erroneous statement of the history.

“bot it was the morne after my cumming (1) or
“he did it.”

“nec id nisi postridie quám veneram (1).”

“mais non jusques au jour d’apres mon arrivée
“(1).”

(1) This is also a dash from the pen of forgery. This part of the letter pretends to be written the day after Mary’s arrival at Glasgow, or on Jan. 24, 1567. Hence the letter speaks before of what the King did “zister-nicht,” and of the conversation that passed with him before and after supper. And, as we shall soon see, it was written in the evening or night of this day. The “morne” or day “efter” her “cuming,” therefore, must be the very day on which she was writing. She relates the discourse, that took place betwixt her and the King the evening before, concerning William Hiegait. About one point in it, she says, she will ask him again the next day, Jan. 25th. But concerning another, she says, he did not own this till the day afterwards. Yet how comes the letter-writer to call this day “the day after her coming,” when it was that very day, on which she was pretendedly writing? From the same principle, on which we have seen the very town, in which she was pretend-
edly

edly writing at the moment, denominated *that* town. The mind cannot be kept continually, under the restraint of fraud. It will assert its native freedom at times. It will break away from the prescribed line of ideas. And, imperceptibly to itself, it will throw out some circumstances, that betray the bondage in which it is acting. Mary, writing of what had been confessed the day of her writing, would have called it *this* day. Nature could not have acted otherwise. But Lethington and art, putting themselves in Mary's and Nature's place, could not so far divest themselves of their own propriety, as to refrain from calling it *the day after her coming*. And they discovered themselves by the act.

§ V.

LETTER THE FIRST CONTINUED.

XII.—“ He wald verray fane that I suld ludge
 “ in his ludgeing (1): I refusit it, and said to him,
 “ that he behovit to be purgeit, and that culd not
 “ be done heir. He said to me, I heir say ze have
 “ brocht ane lytter with zow; bot I had raither
 “ have passit with zow (2). I trow he belevit, that
 “ I wuld have send him away prisoner (3). I an-
 “ swerit that I wuld tak him with me to Craig-
 “ millar, quhair the mediciner (4) and I micht
 “ help him, and not be far from my sone.”

XII.—“ Magnopere cupiebat ut ego in ejus
 “ hospitio apud eum diverterem (1): ego recu-
 “ savi, ac dixi ei opus esse purgatione, nec id híc
 “ fieri posse. Dixit se accepisse, quód lecticam me-
 “ cum attulissém; se veró maluisse mecum uná pro-
 “ ficisci (2). Credebat, opinor, quód in carcerem
 “ eum aliquó (3) amandatura essém. Ego respondi,
 “ quód ductura mecum essém ad Cragmillarium,
 “ ubi et medici (4) et ego possemus ei adesse, ne-
 “ que longé a meo filio abesse.”

XII.—“ Il desiroit fort que j'allasse loger en son
 “ hostel (1): ce que j'ay refusé, luy disant, qu'il
 “ avoit besoin de purgation, et que cela ne se
 “ pouvoit

“ pouvoit faire [icy]. Il adjousta, qu’il avoit en-
 “ tendu que j’avoie amené une litiere, et qu’il eust
 “ mieux aymé aller ensemble avec moy (2). J’es-
 “ time qu’il pensoit, que je le voulusse envoyer
 “ prisonnier quelque part (3). Je respondy, que
 “ je le meneroye avec moy à Cragmillar, afin que
 “ là les medecins (4) et moy le peussions secourir,
 “ et que je m’esloignasse de mon fils.”

(1) “ Ludge in his ludgeing,” Scotch; “ in ejus
 “ hospitio *apud eum* diverterem,” Latin; “ loger
 “ en son hostel,” French, from the corrected La-
 tin.

(2) “ *I* heir say ze have brocht ane litter with
 “ *zow*, bot *I* had rather have passit with *zow*,”
 Scotch; “ dixit *se* accepisse quód lecticam *mecum*
 “ attulisset, *se* veró maluisse *mecum* uná proficisci,”
 Latin; “ il adjousta, qu’il avoit entendu que j’avoie
 “ amené une litiere, et qu’il eust mieux aymé aller
 “ ensemble avec *moy*,” French. But the latter
 clause is charged with peculiar absurdity. The
 King, as we shall see hereafter, yet keeps his bed.
 He was also very weak. We may be sure that he
 was reduced very low before he sent for the Queen.
 And the memoirs of Crawford tell us expressly,
 that the Queen “ was extremely moved to find him
 “ in *so bad* a condition; and waited carefully upon
 “ him —, till, the strength of his nature overcom-
 “ ing the venom of his disease, he was *able* to aban-
 “ don that place, and travel (though slowly) to
 “ Edinburgh *.” He thus travelled in a *litter*. Yet

* P. 12.

here, we see, he is made to say he would rather go *with her* to Edinborough. And he, who *some days afterward* was forced to be carried slowly in a litter, now declares himself able and ready to *ride on horse-back* with her. Imaginary incidents never take such a deep hold upon the mind of the fabricator himself, however blest he may be with that happy ductility of genius, which can mold itself to every character and every circumstance, as to produce an entire consistency of narration. We see this exemplified in the novels of Richardson, where, after the corrections of several editions, some circumstances still occur, which are contrary to the general history, and check the progress of the reader in the narration. And therefore we may wonder the less at the present contradiction, gross as it is; when the whole was formed in haste, and never revised afterwards.

(3) "Send him away prisoner," Scotch; "in carcerem eum *aliquò* amandatura essem," Latin; "envoyer prisonnier *quelque part*," French.

(4) "Mediciner," Scotch; "medici," Latin; "medicins," French.

"He answerit, that he was redly when I pleisit (1),
"sa I wald assure him of his request."

"Ille respondit, se, ubi vellem, paratum esse (1),
"modò de eo quod peteret securum se facerem."

"Il respondit, qu'il estoit prest d'aller, où je vou-
"droye (1), pourveu que je le rendisse certain de
"ce qu'il m'avoit requis."

(1) Here

(1) Here is a fair print from the cloven foot of forgery. This letter makes the Queen to propose Craigmillar, the very evening of her arrival; and the King to express his readiness, for going to Craigmillar whenever she pleased. But the second depositions of Paris assert, that she sent Paris from Glasgow to Edinburgh, in order to consult Bothwell and Lethington, “lequell est meilleur pour
 “loger le Roy, a Craigmillar, ou a Kirk-a-field;” that she charged him to make haste, because she could not stir till he returned with his answer, “hastez vous de revenir, car je ne bougeray d’ici,
 “jusques au temps que m’aures raporte la re-
 “ponse;” and that Lethington and Bothwell returned for answer, Kirk-a-field would be a proper place, “le Kirk-de-field seroit bon *.” These two accounts stand in direct opposition to each other. They therefore serve, like two contrary poisons, mutually to counteract themselves. And they are both counteracted, by the fullest force of truth. Thomas Nelson, one of Darnly’s attendants, was sworn in England to some circumstances, concerning the murder of the King. His is therefore a *real* deposition. And he asserts, what proves Paris’s and the letter to be both forgeries. “He wes
 “actual servand to the King,” he says, “the tyme
 “of his murder, and lang of befoir; and came
 “with him from Glasgow, the time the Quene con-
 “voyed him to Edinburgh. Item, the deponar
 “remembris it wes dewysed in Glasgow, that the
 “King suld haif lyne first at Craigmillar; bot BE-
 “CAUS HE HAD NA WILL THAIROF, the purpois

* Goodall, ii, 77—78.

“ wes altered, and conclusioun taken that he fuld
 “ ly besyde the Kirk-of-field *.”

“ That he was reddy *when* I pleisit,” Scotch;
 “ se, *ubi* vellem, paratum esse,” Latin; “ qu’il
 “ estoit prest d’aller *ou* je voudroye,” French: the
 last mistaking the meaning of the Latin *ubi*, and so
 disfiguring *when* into *where*.

XIII.—“ He desyris na body to sé him (1). He
 “ is angrie quhen I speik of Walcar (2), and
 “ sayis, that he sall pluk the eiris out of his head,
 “ and that he leis (3). For I inquyrit him upon
 “ that (4), and yat he was angrie with sum of the
 “ Lordis (5), and wald threittin thame. He de-
 “ nyis that, and sayis he luifis thame all (6), and
 “ prayis me to give traist to nathing against him
 “ (7).”

XIII.—“ Cupiebat ne a quoquam conspiceretur
 “ (1). Irascitur quoties ei mentionem Walcarii
 “ facio (2), ac se dicit, aures ei e capite avulsurum,
 “ ac mentiri eum ait (3). Nam de hâc re eum
 “ interrogâram (4), ac de eo quôd iratus esset qui-
 “ busdam procerum (5), atque eis minaretur. Id
 “ negat, et ait omnes sibi charos esse (6), ac me
 “ rogat ne quid secus de se crederem (7).”

XIII.—“ Il desiroit de n’estre veu de personne
 “ (1). Il se fasce toutes les fois que je luy parle de
 “ Walcar (2), et dit, qu’il luy arrachera les oreilles
 “ de la teste, et qu’il a menty (3). Car je l’avoyé
 “ interrogé de cela (4), et de ce qu’il s’estoit cour-

* Goodall, ii. 241 and 244.

“roucé contre aucuns des seigneurs (5), et les
 “avoit menassiez. Ce qu’il nie, et dit qu’il les
 “ayme tous (6), et me prie que je ne croye point
 “autrement de luy (7).”

(1) “Desyris,” Scotch, “cupiebat,” Latin,
 “desiroit,” French; “na body to sé him,” Scotch,
 “ne a quoquam conspiceretur,” Latin, “de n’estre
 “veu de personne,” French.

(2) This intimation makes the allusion to the story of Walcar and Hiegait before, more confused than ever. Walcar had said as from Hiegait, that by report the King was to crown his son, and usurp the government in his name. What Walcar thus said has been already given to Hiegait, but is now taken from him again, and restored to its right owner. And we shall soon see a similar stroke of contradictoriness, in another allusion to this very story.

(3) That Walcar *lied*, is plainly not true. Such a plan had been suggested, no doubt, by the artifices of the doubling Murray, to the poor head and poorer heart of this unhappy King. Mary thought so much of it, as to mention it in her letter to her embassadour at Paris. And we have a strong confirmation of the truth of it, which Mary had not then; in the adoption of the very same scheme, only a few months afterwards by Murray, and in the full execution of it by him, to the ruin of Mary and her fortunes for ever.

(4) That Mary should have now asked him concerning this, is utterly incredible upon every sup-
 H 4 position.

position. The King was in a very weak and languishing condition. She had flown to him on the news. She was just arrived. She had only supped since her arrival. She was now sitting at the foot of his bed. And that she should, in these circumstances and at this time, hint a syllable concerning a reported design of his in his health, for seizing the crown from her; is so wildly incredible, as to convict the letter of forgery at once.

(5) This alludes more immediately, to what the Queen notices in her letter of January 20th. “ Hie-
 “ gait said further, as Walcar reportit to us, that
 “ the King culd not content nor beir, with sum of
 “ the noblemen that war attending in our court, bot
 “ othir he or thay behovit to leif the samyn *.”
 But then both refer, to what happened on the 29th of September before. “ The same evening,” says the privy council of Scotland, in a formal letter of October 8th to the Queen Dowager of France,
 “ the King came to Edinburgh; but made some
 “ difficulty to enter into the palace, by reason that
 “ three or four lords were at that time present with
 “ the Queen; and *peremptorily insisted* that they
 “ might be gone, *before* he would condescend to
 “ come in: which deportment appeared to be abun-
 “ dantly unreasonable, since they were three of the
 “ greatest lords of the kingdom,” supposed to be
 Argyle, Murray, and Rothes †; “ and that those
 “ Kings, who by their own birth were sovereigns
 “ of the realm, have never acted in that manner
 “ towards the nobility. The Queen however re-

* Keith, Pref. viii.

† Goodall, i. 284.

“ ceived

“ceived this behaviour, as decently as was possible;
 “and condescended so far, as to go meet the King
 “without the palace; and so conducted him into
 “her own apartment*.” But surely this was not
 an incident, that could have engaged a moment’s
 attention from both, at such an interview as the pre-
 sent, and in the first evening of it. If the Queen
 had come with a real regard for him, she *could* not
 have led most distantly to the subject. If she had
 come from a pretended one, she *would* not.

(6) That Darnly should be made to assert this,
 in direct opposition to the speaking fact above;
 was the design in introducing the subject. But then
 it serves, with almost every other circumstance
 here, to prove the plain spuriousness of the letter,
 and the bold fraudulence of the writer.

(7) “Give traist to nathing aganis him,” Scotch;
 “ne quid *secus* de se crederem,” Latin; which,
 connected as it stands with “ait omnes sibi charos
 “esse,” desires Mary not to believe but that they
 are all, as he says, dear to him. Though this is
 not the sense of the Scotch, yet, the Latin being
 so, the French was forced to accommodate itself
 to it, “autrement de luy.”

“As to me, he wald rather give his lyfe or he did
 “ony displeasure to me (1).

XIV.—“And efter this he schew me of sa mony
 “lytil flattereis, sa cauldly and sa wyfely (2), that

* Keith, 348—349.

“ ze will abafce thairat (3). I had almost forzet
 “ that he faid, he culd not dout (4) of me in yis
 “ purpois of Hiegaite’s; for he wald never belief
 “ yat I, quha was his proper fefche, wold do him
 “ ony evill; alfweill it was fchawin that I refufit
 “ to fubfcribe the fame (5):”

“ Quod ad me attinet, fe malle de vitâ difcedere,
 “ quâm quicquam committere quod me offende-
 “ ret (1).

XIV.—“ Ac pofttea tantum minutarum adula-
 “ tionum tam moderaté ac tam prudenter effudit
 “ (2), ut tibi res admirationi fit futura (3). Pené
 “ oblita eram, quód dixit, in hóc negotio Hiegait
 “ non poffe de me quicquam fufpicari (4); fe
 “ enim nunquam crediturum, quód ego, quæ
 “ propria ejus caro effem, quicquam mali ei face-
 “ rem; etiam fe refciffe, quód ego ei rei fub-
 “ fcribere recufaffem (5):”

“ Et quant a ce qui me touche, qu’il aymeroit
 “ mieux mourir, que de faire chofe qui me peuft
 “ offenfer (1).

XIV.—“ Or apres il m’a ufé de tant de petites
 “ flateries, avec tel poids et difcretion (2), que vous
 “ en feriez eftonné (3). J’avoye, peu s’en faut,
 “ oublié ce qu’il dit fur le fait de Hiegait, qu’il ne
 “ peut foupçonner de moy (4); et qu’il ne croira
 “ jamais que moy, qui fuis fa propre chair, luy
 “ faffe aucun desplair; et qu’il fçavoit bien, que
 “ j’avoye refusé de foufcrire a cela (5):”

(1) Thefe

(1) These wild and absurd attempts to colour over the wretched character of Darnly, I have already noticed with the proper severity. But, lest perseverance should attract credit, let me only subjoin Le Croc's account of his conduct, so late as the 23d of December before. His bad "deportment," says this honest embassadour, who was also a kind of confidante to him, "is *incurable* ; " *nor can there be ever any good expected from him,* " for several reasons *."

(2) "Cauldly," Scotch, which then meant *coolly and calmly*, as Mary's commissioners say to Elizabeth, "we replied *cauldely* and myldlye without ony railing †;" and translated accordingly in Latin, "moderaté;" has, by a misunderstanding of the Latin, been rendered in French "avec poids," *with weight*; as if the French author took his idea of the Latin word from that passage in Sallust, "nihil pensi neque moderati habere."—"Schew me of sa mony lytil flattereis." This, says the Miscellaneous Remarker, is a French expression, because it is similar in its structure to the French here, "m'a usé de tant *de* petites flateries ‡." He might as well have said that it was a Latin one, because it is equally similar to the Latin here, "tantum minutarum adulationum effudit." And indeed we know the French, to be merely derived from the Latin.

(3) I have already shewn the absurdity, of Mary's relating all the exculpatory topicks of Darnly, with-

* Keith, Pref. viii. † Goodall, ii. 218—219. ‡ P. 20—21.

out any specified reply to them. But I now wish to urge *another* point concerning it, as a proof of forgery. Why should Mary relate all these to her *adulterer*? Why should she thus labour to soften and extenuate the King's conduct, in a letter to *Bothwell*? Is this nature, or is this art? Nature it certainly is not. No adulteress was ever so far abandoned, as to wish or allow herself to exculpate her husband. She would much rather seek for all occasions to censure *him*, in order to excuse *herself*. She would be so far from repeating all his long defences of himself, without recording her answers to them; that she would hardly permit herself to repeat them at all, that she would certainly repeat her answer to each defence, and would give her answer every advantage of force. She would do this to *any* correspondent. But she would peculiarly do it to *Bothwell*. And, even to *him*, she had one special reason for doing it. She is described in these very letters, as jealous of Bothwell's wife. She is made to mention her jealousy, over and over again. Then why, in the name of common sense, should she rehearse to Bothwell the King's long vindications of himself; which must have such a tendency, to plant a jealousy of Darnly in him? She did not do it, in order to counteract one jealousy by another. Had she, her behaviour must have been more kind to Darnly, and more distant to Bothwell. But she avows, even in this very letter, her fullest regard for Bothwell, and her highest contempt for Darnly. And she therefore employs herself so laboriously, in reciting all that
Darnly

Darnly spoke in his own justification; not because it was natural for her to do so; but because it was necessary to the policy of forgery that she should, because nature was to be sacrificed to art, and because the forgers trusted the sacrifice would be, as it has now been for two hundred years, totally unobserved by the world.

(4) "Dout," Scotch; "susplicari," Latin; soup-conner," French.

(5) This is the contradiction, to which I referred a few notes before. The point alluded to, is called the purpose of *Hiegait*; and yet it is evidently the information of *Mynto*. The latter had said, that some of the council were reported to have brought an order for the Queen's signature, which was to send Darnly to prison, &c. And it is now added, that Mary had refused to sign the order. What *Hiegait* had alledged was merely this, that it was reported Darnly was to be sent to prison. This is much short of the other. This says nothing of an order, actually presented to Mary for sending him. This has no connection, therefore, with Mary's refusal to sign the order. Yet the two informations are confounded. And *Mynto's* is given to *Hiegait*.

But let us now, at this present reference to the inquisition before the council, examine all the parts of it again; lest, while we are active in exposing the forgery, we should press some points into the cause, that have no concern in it. The real fact is, as we have shewn before, that Walcar acquainted the Queen with a reported design in Darnly, to de-
throne

throne her, to crown her son, and to reign in his name; and that Hiegait informed the council, of an equally reported design in Mary, to send Darnly to prison. By these two informations, we are to try the notices in the letter. To which of these, then, does it refer; when it says, that Mary asked Darnly concerning "the inquisition of Hiegait," and that "he denyit the same," till she shewed "the verray wordis was spokin?" By the name of Hiegait, it should refer to the real information given by Hiegait, that it was reported Darnly was to be sent to prison. Yet this it cannot mean, because Darnly *denies* the allegation, till she shewed him the very words of it. Had it meant the real information of Hiegait, Mary would *not* have enquired about it, and Darnly would *not* have denied it. She is even made to say afterwards; that she thinks he believed, even on her present visit to him, she would send him to prison. It means therefore the information of Walcar; that the King designed to seize the reins of government, under the appearance of acting as regent to his son. And yet the letter speaks afterwards, of "the rest of Willie Hiegait's," which Darnly "confessed" the day afterward. What did he "confess" then? The same that he denied before, concerning the plan of dethroning the Queen? Or the fact, of Hiegait's communication to Mynto, of Mynto's to Lenox, of Lenox's to the King, and of the King's to Hiegait? Yet the *latter* he has equally denied with the *former*. *Mynto*, he says, was the person who informed him of the design. And with *Mynto* it was, that he talked about it. So thoroughly confounded was

was

was the letter-writer, by his half-recollection of this inquisition, of which we have so full an account in Mary's letter! He little thought of such a letter being preserved, to expose his ignorance, and to detect his imposture.

The letter-writer also, makes Mynto inform the King of a report; that some of the council had brought an order to Mary, for confining the King, and for putting him to death if he resisted the execution of the order. The King is described as asking Mynto his opinion, concerning the truth of the report. And Mynto is represented as declaring his belief in the truth of it. But, says the *acted Queen*, "the morne I will speik to him upon this point." Yet before "the morne" comes, Mary speaks to her readers upon it; and only, by a blunder rather extraordinary in so short a compass, miscalls it Hiegait's for Mynto's. For she knows immediately, and without speaking any farther to the King about it; that he knew she had *refused* to sign the order. And, though the next day (as I shall soon shew) she writes the remaining half of this long letter, yet she never speaks to the point any more.

Walcar's information, and Mynto's intelligence, are both attributed in different places to Hiegait. Yet Mynto in one place, and Walcar in another, have each their several allotments. And then "the rest of Hiegait's" is noticed, either as different or the same; if as the same, then being most impertinently noticed; if as different, then being nothing at all.

So confusedly, and so contradictorily, are these allusions to the *subject* of Mary's letter, managed by

by the forgers! Confusedness upon such a recent point, and from such a pretended writer, is sufficient of itself to betray the hand of imposture in the whole. But contradictoriness does it still more strongly. And, which is what I wish to remark at the close, these intimations concerning an order produced by some of the council to Mary, for seizing the person of the King, and for slaying him if he made resistance; and concerning the King's belief, even at the very instant of her really or pretendedly kind visit to him, that she meant even then to commit him to ward, so directly contrary to his own avowal, that he knew the Queen had already refused to sign an order for his committal; are wholly false in themselves. The Queen's letter of January 20th, is a full proof that they are. She who wrote an account of Walcar's information, and of Hiegait's intelligence, to her embassadour; must certainly have written an account, of such an order and such a refusal, had they been true. And this concurs with all to shew, not merely the artificial, but the awkward and the blundering, fabrication of these celebrated letters.

“ but as to ony utheris (1) that wald persew him,
“ at leist he fuld sell his lyfe deir aneuch (2); bot
“ he suspectit na body, nor zit wald not; but
“ wald lufe all yat I lufit (3).

XV.—“ He wald not let me depart from him,
 “ bot defyrit yat I fuld walk with him (4). I mak
 “ (5) it seme that I believe that all is trew, and
 “ takis heid thairto, and excusit myself for this
 “ nicht that I culd not walk (6). He sayis, that
 “ he sleipis not weil (7).”

“ quód si quis (1) suam vitam peteret, facturum
 “ ut fatis magno ei constaret (2); sed sibi neminem
 “ nec suspectum esse, nec futurum; sed se omnes
 “ dilecturum quos ego diligerem (3).

XV.—“ Nolebat permittere ut a se discederem,
 “ sed cupiebat ut uná secum vigilarem (4). Ego
 “ simulabam (5) omnia videri vera, ac mihi curæ
 “ esse, atque excusavi quód illâ nocte vigilare non
 “ possem (6). Ait se non bene dormire (7).”

“ que si quelqu'un (1) cherchoit a luy oster la vie,
 “ qu'il feroit en forte qu'elle luy feroit cherement
 “ venduë (2): mais que nul ne luy estoit, ou feroit,
 “ suspect; ains qu'il aymeroit tous ceux que j'ay-
 “ moye (3).

XV.—“ Il ne vouloit point permettre que je
 “ m'en allasse, mais desiroit que je veillasse (4)
 “ avec luy. Et je faingnoye (5) que tout cela
 “ me sembloit vray, et que je m'en soucioye beau-
 “ coup, et en m'excusant que je ne pouvoye veiller
 “ pour ceste nuit-la (6), il dit, qu'il ne pouvoit
 “ bien dormir (7).”

(1) “ Ony utheris,” Scotch; “ quis,” Latin;
 “ quelqu'un,” French.

(2) It is very observable, in what contradictions this negligent letter-writer involves himself. The King now *threatens* to sell his life dear enough, to such of the lords as were seeking it. Yet, a very little before, he denies that he threatens them, and avers that he loves them all. So contradictory, in the compass of a few minutes, is the Darnly of the forgers! The denial is put into his mouth, to raise his character for good-nature. The threat is put in, to enhance his reputation for bravery. And both are to be exalted, at the expence of consistence.—“At least,” Scotch, is omitted by the Latin and the French.

(3) As a *proof* of this, that comes nearest to the date of the present letter; let me produce once more the Queen's own letter of January 20th. Her authority is, *at least*, as good as his. But in reality it is much better. She puts her name to what she says. And even Lethington did not dare to put it, to what Darnly says. “For the King our husband,
 “ God knawis alwayis our part towartis him; and
 “ his behaviour and thankfulness to us, is semblable-
 “ ment well knawin to God and the world; specia-
 “ lie our awin indifferent subjectis seis it, and in
 “ thair hartis, we doubt not, condemnis the samyn.
 “ Alwayis we persave him occupeit and bissy aneuch,
 “ to haif inquisition of our doyngis; quhilkis, God
 “ willing, fall ay be sic, as nane fall haif occasioun
 “ to be offendit with thame, or to report of us any
 “ wayis bot honorably; howsoever he, his father,
 “ and thair fautoris, speik; quhilkis we knaw want
 “ na gude will to mak us haif ado, gif thair power
 “ were.

“ were equivalent to thair myndis. But God mo-
 “ deratis thair forces well aneuch, and takis the
 “ moyen of executioun of thair pretensis fra thame;
 “ for, as we believe, they fall find nane, or verray
 “ few, approveris of thair counsais and devyfis,
 “ imaginis to our displefor or mislyking*.” Let
 me also repeat, what I have said before in other
 words; that this letter, however Dr. Robertson
 has misrepresented it, gives us the picture of a soul,
 feeling but firm, touched but not provoked; look-
 ing down from its dignity with concern, upon the
 injuries that it had received; and looking up from
 its innocence to God, against the injuries that it
 knew to be meditated. And this picture being
 drawn undesignedly by the hand of Mary herself,
 and at a very critical minute of her life; it thence
 becomes the more valuable.

(4) “ Walk,” Scotch, meaning to *wake*. “ It
 “ chance oft to the infirmities of man,” Ninian
 Wingate says in 1562, “ that he fall on slepe
 “ quhen he fuld craft [chiefly] *walk*;—ze *walkin*
 “ nocht furthe of zour dreame;—*awalke, awalke*†.”

(5) “ I mak,” Scotch; “ simulabam,” Latin;
 and “ je faingnoye,” French. “ Et” is added
 by the French.

(6) This is the night of her arrival, January 23;
 in which she very naturally excused herself from
 sitting up late with him, because she was tired
 with her journey.

* Keith, Pref. viii.

† Ibid. App. 206.

(7) The turn of the French must have arisen, I suppose, from some mistake in or concerning the corrected Latin; reading perhaps "excusavi" into *excusanti*, and so continuing the sense over the period.

"Ze (1) saw him never better, nor speik mair
 "humbler. And gif I had not ane prufe of his
 "hart of waxe, and yat myne wer [not] of ane
 "dyamont (2), quhairintill na schot can mak brek,
 "bot that quhilk cummis furth of zour hand; I wald
 "have almaist had pietie of him. Bot feir not, the
 "place sall hald unto the deith. Remember, in
 "recompence thair of (3), that ze suffer not zouris
 "to be wyn be that fals race, that will travell no
 "les with zow for the same (4).

XVI.—"I beleve thay have bene at schoullis
 "togidder. He hes ever the teir in his eye; he
 "salutis every body, zea, unto the leift, and makis
 "pieteous careffing unto thame, to mak theme
 "have pietie on him (5). This day his father
 "bled"

"Nunquam vidi (1) eum meliús habere, aut loqui
 "humiliús. Ac nisi experimento didicissem, quám
 "esset ejus cor cereum, meum adamantinum (2),
 "et quale nullum telum penetrare posset, nisi quod
 "e tuâ manu veniat; propé erat ut ejus miserta
 "fuissem. Sed ne time, præsidium ad mortem
 "usque custodietur. Tu vide (3), ne tuum capi
 "finas

“ finas a gente illâ perfidâ, quæ non minore con-
 “ tentione tecum de hâc ipso aget (4).

XVI.—“ Arbitror in eâdem scholâ doctos fu-
 “ isse. Iste semper in oculis habet lachrymam;
 “ salutat omnes, etiam usque ad infimos, et miseris
 “ modis eos ambit, ut ad sui misericordiam eos per-
 “ ducat (5). Hodie patri ejus sanguis e naribus”

“ Je (1) ne l’ay jamais veu mieux porter, ne parler
 “ si doucement. Et si je n’eusse appris par l’expé-
 “ rience, combien il avoit le cœur mol comme cir,
 “ et le mien estre dur comme diamant (2), et lequel
 “ nul trait ne pouvoit percer, sinon deschoché de
 “ vostre main; peu s’en eust fallu que je n’eusse eu
 “ pitié de luy. Toutesfois ne craignez point, ceste
 “ forteresse sera conservée jusques a la mort. Mais
 “ vous regardez (3), que ne laissiez surprendre la
 “ vostre par ceste nation infidele, qui avec non
 “ moindre opiniâtreté debatra le mesme avec vous
 “ (4).

XVI.—“ J’estime qu’ils ont esté enseignez en
 “ mesme escole. Cestui-cy a tousjours la larme a
 “ l’œil; il salüe toute le monde, voire jusques au
 “ plus petits, et les flatte d’une facon pitoyable,
 “ afin qu’il les amene jusques d’avoir compassion
 “ de luy (5).”

(1) “ Ze saw,” Scotch; “ vidi,” Latin; “ je
 “ veu,” French.

(2) “ Not,” Scotch, omitted in Latin and
 French, and, as the sense shews, inserted in the
 Scotch by some mistake of the press. “ An-
 “ prufe,” Scotch; “ experimento didicissim,”
 Latin; “ appris par l’experience,” French.

(3) "In recompence thair of," Scotch, omitted in the Latin and French. As it is too much to be omitted by accident in the Latin, I suspect it to have not been in the Scotch originally, as well as the two sentences which we have seen before.

(4) Meaning Bothwell's wife.

(5) This affords us a very extraordinary evidence of the forgery, in a plain and palpable contradiction. An author, who writes from a set of imaginary ideas, and has therefore no real archetypes in nature to direct him, is almost sure to fall into contradictions. The present is a very great one. Darnly at this very time kept his bed. He had done so, for some time past. He was particularly in bed during all this conversation. "I cum," says Mary herself soon afterwards, "na neirer unto him, bot in ane chyre at the bed-feit, and he being at the other end thair of." And, as she says only a little before, "he desyris na body to fé him." Yet here we are told, that "he salutis every body, zea, unto the leift, and makis pieteous careffing unto thame, to mak thame have pietie on him." He, who sees nobody, is saluting every body; "tout le monde," says the Frenchman. He salutes even the very lowest of the people. He makes piteous careffings to all orders of life at Glasgou,—*from the upper end of his bed*. And he, who desires to see no one, and has seen none since the Queen came, even now has had a grand COUCHE'E, and has been practising all the humilities of politeness to the crowds about him.

"at

“ at the mouth and nose ; ges quhat presage that
 “ is (1). I have not zit sene him, he keipis his
 “ chalmer (2). The King desyris, that I fald give
 “ him meit with my awin handis (3) ; bot gif na
 “ mair traist quhair ze ar (4), than I fall do heir
 “ (5).

XVII.—“ This is my first jornay (6), I fall end
 “ the same ye morne (7).”

“ et ore fluxit ; tu conjice quale id sit præfagium
 “ (1). Nondum eum vidi, continet enim se in
 “ cubiculo (2). Rex poscit, ut meis manibus sibi
 “ tradam cibum (3) ; sed tu nihilo magis isthic
 “ sis crediturus (4), quam ego hîc ero (5).

XVII.—“ Hæc est mea primi diei expeditio (6),
 “ eandem cras finiam (7).”

“ Aujourdhuy le sang est forty du nez et de la
 “ bouche a son pere ; vous donc devinez mainte-
 “ nant quel est ce presage (1). Je ne l'ay point
 “ encor veu, car il se tient en sa chambre (2). Le
 “ Roy me requiert, que je luy donne a manger de
 “ mes mains (3) ; or vous n'en croyez pas par dela
 “ rien d'avantage (4), pendant que je suis icy (5).

XVII.—“ Voyla j'ay despeché pour mon pre-
 “ mier jour (6), esperant achever demain le reste
 “ (7).”

(1) This is the first hint about the murder. And a most dark one it is. Yet it is singled out in a short abstract of the letter, by the busy apprehensiveness of the commissioners of England, as a very particular one *.

(2) This is a false fact, and so proves the forgery. All the intimations here concerning Lenox, imply him to have been ill, and to have *therefore* kept his chamber. Yet the *present* Mary has already informed us, that this very day Lenox sent a gentleman to her four miles before she reached Glasgow, to pay his respects of duty to her, and to excuse his non-attendance upon her in person; *not* because he was sick, but “be reffoun he *durst* “*not interpryse the same*, because of the rude wordis “that I had spokin to Cuninghame.” He was therefore not sick that afternoon. Yet, *the very evening* of that afternoon, he is here represented as sick. And, what pins down the point decisively, the very gentleman, who came from Lenox to the Queen, afterwards deposed in England; that “the “said Erle *durst* not then, *for displeasure of the* “*Quene*, come abroad †.” So thoroughly does this agree with the former part of the letter! And so compleatly are both in opposition to the present!

But let me make another observation, upon this part of the letter. I have already shewn the forger of the letter, to have confounded his understanding by the indistinctness of his memory, to have taken incidents that happened in the April of 1566, and

* Appendix, N° vi.

† Goodall, ii. 246.

to have fixed them in or about January 1567. And the present passage in the letter, corroborates what I have said. In April 1566 this very contradiction was realized. Then Lenox actually excused himself from attendance at Edinburgh, first because he was sick, and then because "he durst not enterprize the same*."

(3) This was a very pretty office for the Queen. It shews the regard of Darnly for her extremely. Her Majesty was to become nurse to his father. Yet "he wald rather give his lyfe, or he did ony displeasure to her." And he had been severely "punishit, for making his God of her, and for having na uther thocht bot on her." So much at odds are the parts of this letter! Yet the Queen's refusal to do this menial office to one of her Earls, of attending him in his chamber of sickness, and "giving him meit with her awin handis;" was most injudiciously intended, to injure her character with the reader. "These cocknies," said Condé, "make me to think and speak, just as they would think and speak in the same situations." And, in the sottishness of forgery, a Lethington became a mere cockney!

(4) Meaning still Bothwell's wife.

(5) The French has made a great blunder here, mistaking the sense of the Latin, "*quám ego híc ero;*" considering it to mean, *as long as I shall be here;* and therefore rendering the clause, "*pendant que je suis icy.*" And it was led into this ab-

* Anderson, i: 52—53, and ii. 106—107.

furdity by a previous one, by rendering the comparative “*nihiló magis*,” in this positive manner, “*rien d’avantage*.”

(6) This passage is a memorable one. It was one of those, which first detected the vain pretensions of the French to originality *. And it is very astonishing, how Buchanan could miss the meaning of so easy a word, familiar as it still is in all the distant extremities of the island, and hedged and fenced in by the context. It shews him to have been very careless, in making the version.

“This is my first jorney,” Scotch; “*hæc est mea primi diei expeditio*,” Latin; “*voilà ce que j’ay despeche pour mon premier jour*,” French. The last is plainly nothing but the Latin, *done* into French by the hand of ignorance. The *doer* particularly mistook the meaning of “*expeditio*,” and therefore gave us “*despeché*” to answer it. But both the French and the Latin unite to shew us, how the pure wine of an original may be diluted away, by the successive waterings of a translation. And thus the first day’s work of the Scotch, is lowered into the first day’s expedition of the Latin, and then sunk entirely away into the expediting of something for the first day, in the French.

(7) The passage before, shews this part of the letter to have been written Jan. 24th, the day after the Queen’s arrival. And the present passage intimates, that the letter was to be finished on Jan. 25th,

* Goodall, i. 93.

But the French, in consequence of its own mistake, immediately before, only *hopes*, “*esperant*,” to finish it on the morrow.

“ I wryte all things, howbeit thay be of lytill wecht,
 “ to the end that ze may tak the best of all to
 “ judge upon (1). I am in doing of ane work
 “ heir (2), that I hait (3) greitly (4). Have ze
 “ not desyre to lauch (5), to fé me lie sa weill, at
 “ ye leist to dissembill sa weill, and to tell him (6)
 “ treuth betwixt handis (7)?”

“ Omnia scribo, etsi non sunt magni ponderis, ut tu
 “ optima seligendo iudicium facias (1). Ego in
 “ negotio (2) mihi maximé (4) ingrato (3) verfor.
 “ Nunquid subit cupiditas ridendi (5), videndo me
 “ tam bene mentiri, saltem dissimulare tam bene,
 “ ac (6) interim vera dicere (7)?”

“ Je vous escry toutes choses, encor qu’elles soient
 “ de peu d’importance, afin qu’en essissant les meil-
 “ leures vous en fassies jugement (1). Je suis
 “ occupée en une affaire (2), qui m’est infiniment
 “ (4) desagreable (3). Ne vous prent-il pas envie de
 “ rire (5), de me voir ainsi bien mentir, au moins
 “ de si bien dissimuler (6), en disant verité (7)?”

(1) This is the apology made by the writer, for inserting so long an account of what the King said to the Queen. Bothwell was to select, what he thought the principal strokes in the King’s speech;
 and

and to judge from them, with regard to his future proceedings. But, not to dwell on the absurdity of her not selecting them herself, what were the strokes, principal or subordinate; that could lead him to form any judgment concerning the murder? For the future proceedings must relate to the murder only. Could the discourse concerning the *letter*, lead him? Could the hint of her *pensiveness*? Could the King's declaring, that he would leave her all he had, that she was cruel to him, that she refused to accept his repentance, and that his regret for this had given him his disorder? None of these circumstances, surely, could either have retarded or hastened the murder? Let us go on then, and see if we can find any other that could. Could the King's confession afterwards, his petition for pardon, his promise of amendment, and his avowal of his former idolatry for Mary? Or could his answer concerning the English ship, concerning Hiegait, Mynto, and Walcar, concerning his desire to sleep with the Queen, her refusal to let him, and his readiness to attend her to Craigmillar? Could his desire to see no one, his declaration of love for all the lords, his expressions of peculiar regard for Mary, his flatteries to her, her so fully expressed attachment to Bothwell in spite of all, and his general courtesy and humility to all the world? Certainly they could not. They could not separately. They could not collectively. They could not even serve as lights, to regulate the proceedings of Bothwell in *preparing* for the murder. The murder indeed was already determined. "Ibi," at Holyrood-house, "cum rescitum esset," says Buchanan,

"chanan,

chanan, “ Regem convalescere, ac vim veneni æta-
 “ tis vigore et corporis firmitate naturali superatam,
 “ novum de eo tollendo consilium initur—; con-
 “ fulunt omnes festinandum, antequam plané con-
 “ valesceret*.” And accordingly the commissioners
 at York, from the suggestions of Murray and his
fellows, and as a proof of the Queen’s “ procure-
 “ ment and consent to the murder of her said hus-
 “ band,” say she appears in this letter to have
 “ toke her journey from Edenburghe to Glasco,
 “ to visit him being theare sick, and purposely of
 “ intent to bringe him with her to Edenburghe †.”
 It was therefore determined, according to the rebels
 themselves, and according to their own comments
 upon this very letter, to murder the King at Edin-
 borough. What influence, then, could any of the
 many particulars in the King’s conversation have,
 towards regulating the mode of the murder? None
 at all, certainly. And the apology for this long
 rehearsal is as absurd, as the rehearsal itself is
 unnatural.

(2) “ Heir,” Scotch, omitted in the Latin and
 French.

(3) Here the author has thrown a slight touch
 of remorse, into the character of Mary. This is
 more judicious, than any other part which I have
 yet observed of his management. And Milton,
 even in describing the great author of wickedness
 in the universe, says;

Cruel his eye, but cast
 Signs of remorse and passion, to behold
 the nature of his crime in its consequences,

* Hist. xviii. 350.

† Appendix, N° vi.

(4) Behold

(4) Behold the gradation, in which the two translations successively “out-step the modesty” of the original. “Greitly,” Scotch, is “maximé,” Latin, and “infiniement,” French. It shews the tendency, which all mankind have to exaggerate.

(5) This is very unnatural. Mary was the moment before, under lively compunctions of remorse. She is now laughing at her own cleverness of deceit. The transition is much too quick and sudden, for nature. She could not have passed from the one to the other, at a step. There must have been some intermediate steps, between them. And the want of these shews the workmanship of a man, writing concerning a remorse which he never felt, and therefore capable of passing from remorse to triumph in an instant.

(6) “Him,” Scotch, omitted in Latin and French.

(7) That Mary was a professed dissembler, is what the rebels have repeatedly endeavoured to suggest. But nothing could be more opposite to her real character. A frank and open heart, like her's, can never practise dissimulation habitually. It is indeed the very game and quarry, at which dissimulation is ever shooting. And Mary was, throughout her whole life, a dupe to her own honesty, and a sufferer from the dissimulation of others. Accordingly Darnly himself, in one of his most excentric fallies of extravagance, his conspiracy with Morton, &c. for murdering Rizzio and usurping the crown; when “they said they feared all was but craft and policy,” on some proposals

propofals from the Queen after the murder, he
 “ the King would not credit the fame; and faid,
 “ That SHE WAS A TRUE PRINCESS, and HE WOULD
 “ SET HIS LIFE FOR WHAT SHE PROMISED *.”

“ Betwix handis,” Scotch; “ interim,” Latin;
 omitted in French. “ It is not eafy,” fays Mr.
 Goodall †, “ to exprefs in Latin the meaning of
 “ the words *betwixt hands*. Buchanan’s word *in-*
 “ *terim*, not only falls fhort; but makes his Latin
 “ fentence ftand, as it were, at variance with itfelf:
 “ which the Frenchman obferving, he omitted it
 “ altogether.” Buchanan fhould have tranflated
 the words by *subinde*. This would have met the
 meaning compleatly. But it is of more confe-
 quence to remark, that the occurrence of fuch an
 idiom as this in the Scotch, which is indubitably
 Scotch in itfelf, and has even nothing parallel to it
 either in Latin or in French; is a ftrong proof for
 the originality of the Scotch. Proverbial modes of
 expreffion like this, are fome of the fureft figns of
 an original. They enter not into tranflations.
 They are only the effufions of a mind, not con-
 verfing with foreign idioms at the moment, but
 expatiating in its native language, and throwing out
 its ideas in the freedom of popular and colloquial
 diction. And we have another idiom of the fame
 nature hereafter ‡, which even Buchanan, though
 a Scotchman, underftood ftill lefs than this; both
 of them being merely forms of fpeech, appropriated
 to the familiarities of common life.

* Ruthven’s own account of the murder, Keith, App. 128.

† i. 85.

‡ Sect. xxii.

“ He schawit me almaist all (1) yat is in the name
 “ of the Bischop and Sudderland (2); and zit I
 “ have never twichit ane word (3) of that ze
 “ schawit me; but allanerly be force, flattering,
 “ and to pray him (4) to assure himself of me (5).
 “ And be pleinzeing on the Bishop, I have drawin
 “ it all out of him: ze have hard the rest (6). ”

XVIII.—“ We ar couplit with twa fals races;
 “ the devil finder us, and God knit us togidder for
 “ ever, for the maist faithfull coupill that ever he
 “ unitit. This is my faith, I will die in it.”

“ Omnia (1) mihi aperuit sub nominibus Episcopi
 “ et Sutherlandi (2); nec tamen adhuc collocuta
 “ sum, aut verbo attigi (3), quicquam eorum quæ
 “ tu mihi declarâsti; sed tantum vi adulationum
 “ et precum (4) ago, ut a me fit securus (5).
 “ Et conquerendo de Episcopo, omnia de eo ex-
 “ piscata sum: cætera audisti (6). ”

XVIII.—“ Nos sumus conjuncti cum duobus
 “ infidis hominum generibus: diabolus nos sejun-
 “ gat, ac nos jungat Deus in perpetuum, ut
 “ simus fidissimum par quod unquam junctum est.
 “ Hæc mea fides est, in eâ volo mori.”

“ Il m’a tout (1) descouvert soubz le nom de
 “ l’Evesque et de Sutherland (2); et toutesfois je
 “ ne luy ay encor parlé, ny dit un seul mot (3),
 “ de ce que vous m’avez déclaré; ains seulement

“ je le pourfuy par force de flateries et prieres (4),
 “ afin qu’il s’assure de moy (5). Et me plaig-
 “ nant de l’Evesque, j’ay sceu toutes choses de luy,
 “ et entendu le reste (6).

XVIII.—“ Nous sommes conjoints avec deux
 “ especes d’hommes infideles; le diable nous
 “ vueille separer, et que Dieu nous conjoigne a
 “ jamais, a ce que soyons deux personnes tres-
 “ fidele, si jamais autres ont esté conjointes ensem-
 “ ble. Voila ma foy, et veux mourir en icelle.”

(1) “ Almaist all,” Scotch; “ omnia,” Latin;
 “ tout,” French.

(2) This alludes, I suppose, to some quarrel between Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness, and uncle to the King; and the Earl of Sutherland, who married the sister of Robert *. But we know nothing of the quarrel. Had any record conveyed us an account of it, I doubt not but we should have found some false hint concerning it here, to have exposed the forgery. “ The name,” Scotch; “ nominibus,” Latin; “ le nom,” French, from the corrected Latin.

(3) “ Never twichit ane word,” Scotch; “ nec adhuc collocuta sum, aut verbo attigi,” Latin; “ ne ay encor parlé, ny dit un seul mot,” French. The wordiness and languor of the Latin and French, is generally very observable in comparison with the Scotch.

(4) “ Allanerly be force, flattering, and to pray him,” Scotch; words that mean merely this,

* Keith, 205.

only of necessity, to flatter him, and to pray him; have been strangely misunderstood by the Latin, and have therefore been thus rendered by it, and its shadow the French, “*vi adulationum et precum*,” and “*par force de flateries et prieres*.” And the Miscellaneous Remarker very gravely informs us thus: “*Beforce, flattering*, this is very remarkable; “the French were wont to use the word *force* as an “adjective; hence, *par force flaterie* means by “*much flattering* *.” Even in this very instance, the word *force* is used, not as an adjective, but as a substantive. So unfortunate is the author in his remarks! The French formerly said “*par force de flaterie*.” This the French translation of the present passage, shews. They now say, “*par force flaterie*,” without the *de*. But the word *force* is equally a substantive in both, whatever the French dictionaries, and the Miscellaneous Remarker, may unite to say to the contrary. And, even if it was not, how can the words “*beforce, flattering*,” run into “*par force flaterie*?” *Authors, before they write, should—think.*

(5) How soon is the scene shifted here! This is not nature, but a play. This very evening “he “was so glaid to se her, that he belevit to die for “glaidness.” This very evening also, he has declared he has been “making his God of her, and “having na uther thocht bot of her.” Yet he soon seems to believe, that “she wald have send “him away presonner.” But he instantly recovers himself, and “wald rather give his lyfe or he did

* P. 21.

“ony displeasure to her.” And yet, after all, she is obliged to flatter him, and to pray him to be assured of her. “One of nature’s journeymen” might give this representation. Nature herself could not.

(6) “Ze have hard,” Scotch; “audisti,” Latin; “et entendu,” French, blunderingly.

XIX.—“Excuse I wryte evill, ze may ges ye
 “half of it (1): bot I cannot mend it, becaus I
 “am not weil at eis (2); and zit verray glaid to
 “wryte unto zow quhen the rest are sleipand (3),
 “sen I cannot sleip as they do, and as I wald
 “desyre, that is, in zour armes, my deir lufe;
 “quhom I pray God to preserve from all evill,
 “and send zow repois (4). I am gangand to seik
 “myne till the morne, quhen I fall end my Bybill
 “(5);”

XIX.—“Excusa quód malé pingam, dimidium
 “te oportet divinare (1): sed ego ei rei mederi
 “non possum, non enim optimé valeo (2); et
 “tamen magnâ fruor lætitiâ scribendo ad te cûm
 “alii dormiant (3), quando ego dormire non pos-
 “sum, ut illi faciunt, nec ut ego vellem, hoc est,
 “in tuo amplexu, mi care amice; a quo precor
 “Deum ut omnia mala avertat, et quietem mittat
 “(4). Ego eo ut meam quietem inveniam in
 “craftinum, ut tum mea Biblia (5) finiam;”

XIX.—“Excusez moy que j’escry mal, il faudra
 “que vous en devinieiez la moytié (1): mais je ne

“ puis remedier a cela, car je ne suis pas a mon
 “ aise (2); et neantmoins j’ay une grand joye en
 “ vous escrivant pendant que les autres dorment
 “ (3), puis que de ma part je ne puis dormir
 “ comme eux, ny ainsi que je voudroye, c’est a
 “ dire, entre le bras de mon tres cher amy; du
 “ quel, je prie Dieu, qu’il vueille destourner tout
 “ mal, et luy donner bon succes (4). Je m’en vay
 “ pour trouver mon repos jusques au lendemain,
 “ afin que je finisse ici ma Bible (5);”

(1) This is artfully thrown in, to account for the badness of the writing, so different from Mary’s usual penmanship. “Her hand-writing,” says Mr. Goodall, “was formed after what is commonly called *italic print*, which it much resembled both in beauty and regularity, and not to be easily imitated but by a fine writer*.” It had not been well imitated, as is plain from this insinuation. And, that it had not, is confirmed by the steady refusal of Elizabeth and her coadjutors in villainy, to let the originals be seen by Mary, or by Mary’s commissioners.—“Wryte,” Scotch; “pingam,” Latin; “escry,” French, from the corrected Latin.

(2) Why was she not well at ease? From the adultery? But this had been long carried on, according to the rebels. From the projected murder? But this also, according to the rebels, had been projected before. This very disorder of the King’s, says Buchanan, proceeded from poison communicated to him by the Queen. Why then was she ill at ease?

* i. 79.

(3) This

(3) This shews the present part of the letter, to be pretendedly written in the night, and late in the night, of January 24th.

(4) This wild mixture of religion with adultery and murder, carries a very strange and unnatural appearance with it. The human mind has been sometimes so overborne, by the fanaticism of religion or of liberty; as to reconcile itself to great enormities, and to suppose assassination, regicide, and massacre, acceptable sacrifices at the shrine of God. But adultery is one of those crimes, which, in Christendom at least, have never been supposed to be even tolerated by religion. And yet Mary is most extravagantly represented, as plunged in adultery, even full of a projected murder, and still praying to God, “to preserve” her partner in murder and adultery “from all evil, and send him “refois.”—The Frenchman, mistaking the meaning of the Latin “quietem,” translates it “bon “succes.”

(5) This strange mistake, which began first from a false print or false writing in the Scotch, and has been copied without reflection by the Latin and French; was one, and the most famous one, of Mr. Goodall’s decisive arguments against the originality of the French*. And it is hardly worth observing, that the Miscellaneous Remarker supposes the original word to have been *French*, in direct opposition to his own confession the very page before; which says, “Mr. Goodall has proved, beyond “possibility of cavil, that the first letter, as

* i. 85—88.

“ we now have it, was translated into French from
 “ the Latin copy *.” Yet he supposes the words
 “ my bybill,” to have been *mon babil*, in collo-
 quial English, *my chat*; an expression, that would
 be as absurd in itself, as impertinent to the purpose.
 It is her husband’s chat, not her’s. *Babil* also then
 signified, as it still does, something worse than *chat*,
 imprudent or excessive talk; Mary herself saying in
 5th letter, “ il en a babillé,” for *he has blabbed the*
secret. And, as we now know the word for certain,
 to have been originally a SCOTCH one; so we know
 the letter to be expressly denominated a BYLLE, by
 the very manufacturers of it †.

“ bot I am faschit that it stoppis me to write newis
 “ of myself unto zow, because it is sa lang (1).
 “ Advertise me quhat ze have deliberat to do in
 “ the mater ze knaw upon this point (2), to ye
 “ end that we may understandis utheris weill, that
 “ nathing thairthrow be spilt (3).

XX.—“ I am irkit (4), and ganging to sleip
 “ (5); and zit I ceis not to scribe all this paper
 “ in sa mekle as restis thairof (6). Waryit mot
 “ this pokische man be (7), that causes me haif
 “ sa mekle pane, for without him I fuld have an
 “ far plesander (8) subject to discourse upon.”

* P. 34—35.

† So in Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 10. Ruddiman, “ sa lang
 “ ane lettre” is called immediately afterwards “ this bill.”

“ sed angor quód ea me a scribendo de me ipsâ ad
 “ te impediât, quia tam diu est (1). Fac me cer-
 “ tiorem, quid de re quam nosti decreveris (2),
 “ ut alter alterum intelligamus, ne quid ob id
 “ fecus fiat (3).

XX.—“ Ego nudata (4) sum, ac dormitum eo
 “ (5); nec tamen me continere possum, quó minús
 “ (6) quod restat chartæ deformiter conscriberem.
 “ Malé fit isti variolato (7), qui me tot laboribus
 “ exercet; nam absque eo esset ut materiam multo
 “ elegantiore (8) ad differendum haberem.”

“ mais je suis fachée que ce repos m’empesche de
 “ vous escrire de mon fait, par ce qu’il dure tant
 “ (1). Faites moy sçavoir ce que vous avez deli-
 “ beré de faire touchant ce que scavez (2), afin
 “ que nous nous entendions l’un l’autre, et que
 “ rien ne se fasse autrement (3).

XX.—“ Je suis tout nuë (4), et m’en vay
 “ coucher (5); et neantmoins je ne me puis tenir
 “ que je ne barbouille encor bien mal, ce qui me
 “ reste de papier (6). Maudit soit se [ce] tavolé
 “ (7), qui me donne tant travaux; car sans lui
 “ j’avoye matiere plus belle (8) pour discourir.”

(1) Mr. Goodall refers the words “ it is sa lang,” to the letter; and founds a criticism upon it, against the originality of the French *. But he is plainly wrong in his reference. Mary is made to say, that she is going to seek her *repose*, but is vexed that *it* keeps her from writing to Bothwell, because *it* is

* i. 87—88.

so long. This is in the true spirit of that *frantick* regard, as it has been justly called, which the letter-writer has attributed to her. The letter could not keep her, from writing news of herself. She was actually writing news of herself, while she was writing *it*. Accordingly, the two translations are explicit in giving the words this meaning. Only, the Latin says improperly “*tam diu*,” for *tam diutina*.

(2) This we must suppose to hint at the murder. But, as I have already asked, what was to be settled by Bothwell? It had been determined to bring the King to Edinburgh. The only question could be therefore, where he was to be lodged when he came thither. And this surely, upon every principle of common-sense, must have been settled before Mary set out for Glasgow, or at least before Bothwell left her at Kalendar, *the very morning of the preceding day*. Accordingly Buchanan says in his Detection, when he has sent the Queen to Glasgow, that “Bothwell, *as it was betwene thame befoir accordit, provydis ALL thingis redy that wer needful to accomplishe ye haynous aēt: first of all ane hous **,” &c.—“Upon this point,” Scotch, omitted in the Latin and French.

(3) “That we may understandis utheris weill,” Scotch, means the same as in modern English, *that we may understand each other well*. “That nathing thairthrow be spilt,” Scotch: “*ne quid ob id secus fiat*,” Latin; “*que rien ne se fasse autrement*,” French. Mr. Goodall has justly remarked, that the French translator, not understanding

* P. 18. Anderson, ii. and Jebb, i. 242.

the peculiar import of the word "fecus" here, has rendered it by a word, which does not convey its present meaning*.

(4) "Irkit," Scotch, by some strange mis-writing or mis-print, was transformed into "nakit," and rendered "nudata" in Latin; then improved by an added stroke from the hand of the French translator, and heightened into that last extreme of blundering absurdity, "toute nuë." This therefore might well form one of those ever-memorable proofs, which Mr. Goodall brought against the pretended originality of the French; and with which he began the course, that I am now completing, I trust, of triumphant attacks upon it†.

(5) This goes on to shew, that the first part of the letter was written late in the night of January 24th.

(6) This also shews, that she is now to come soon to the end of the present day's writing. She has only a little paper remaining. And she only means to write over this little remainder. "Zit I
" ceis not to scribe all this paper in sa mekle as
" restis thairof," Scotch; "nec tamen *me continere*
" *possum, quò minus quod restat chartæ deformiter*
" *conscriberem,*" Latin; "neantmoins je ne *me*
" *puis tenir que je ne barbouille encor bien mal,*
" *ce qui me reste de papier,*" French.

(7) "Waryit," Scotch, is a curse, fully as strong as "male fit," Latin, and as "maudit," French. "The day, the day," says Walter Ken-

* i. 94.

† i. 88—89.

nedy, abbot of Corfraguel in 1558, “the terrible
 “day fall cum,” the day of judgment; “quhen
 “the unhappy avaricious man fall *warry* the tyme,
 “that evir he had,” &c.; “the—prince fall *warry*
 “the tyme, that evir he wes,” &c.; “the mi-
 “ferable ignorant—fall *curs* the tyme, that evir he
 “tuke on hym*,” &c. How indecent, there-
 fore, is the introduction of such a curse as this, into
 the pretended letters of Mary! It might have suit-
 ed the bold and impious genius of Elizabeth, who
 loved to indulge herself in this masculine kind of
 profaneness. But, with the mild and amiable and
 religious Mary, it forms the grossest impropriety.
 And it therefore presents us, with a new proof of
 the general forgery.—“*Pokische*,” Scotch; “*va-*
 “*riolato*,” Latin; and from the Frenchman’s not
 understanding a word, which is only of the base or
 colloquial Latinity, though so exactly the same with
 one in his own language, rendered by him “*ta-*
 “*volé*” or pock-marked, instead of *variolé*.

(8) *Plefander*,” Scotch; “*elegantiolem*,” Latin;
 “*plus belle*,” French.

“He is not over mekle deformit, zit he has reffa-
 “vit verray mekle (1). He has almaist flane me
 “with his braith; it is worse than zour uncle’s (2);
 “and zit I cum na neirer unto him, bot in ane
 “chyre at the bed-feit (3), and he being at the
 “uther end thairof (4).

* Keith, App. 203.

XXI.—“ The message (5) of the father in the
“ gait.

“ The purpose of Schir James Hamiltoun.

“ Of that the laird of Luffe (6) schawit me of
“ the delay.”

“ Non magnoperé deformatus est, multum (1)
“ tamen accepit. Pené me suo enecavit anhelitu;
“ est enim gravior quám tui propinqui (2); et
“ tamen non accedo propiús ad eum, sed in ca-
“ thedrâ sedeo ad pedes ejus (3), cüm ipse in re-
“ motissimâ lecti parte sit (4).

XXI.—“ Nuncius (5) patris in itinere.

“ Sermo D. Jacobi Hamiltonii.

“ De eo quod Luffæ comarchus (6) mihi re-
“ tulit de dilatione.”

“ Il n'a pas esté beaucoup rendu diforme, toutesfois
“ il en a pris beaucoup (1). Il m'a quasi tuée de
“ son halene, car elle est plus fort que celle de
“ vostre parent (2); et neantmoins je n'approche
“ pas pres de luy, mais je m'affieds en une chaire
“ a ses pieds (3), luy estant en la partie du liét plus
“ esloignée (4).

XXI.—“ Du messager (5) du pere sur le chemin.

“ Du dire du sieur Jacques Hambleton.

“ De ce que le prevost de Luffe (6) m'a rap-
“ porté touchant le retardement.”

(1) “ Verray mekle,” Scotch; “ multum,” La-
tin; “ beaucoup,” French.

(2) “ Uncle's,” Scotch; “ propinqui,” Latin;
“ parent,” French; the last *then* answering, as it
does

does at present, exactly to the second, though it is so different from the first. See sonnet 1, remark (4), in vol. iii. And Bothwell's uncle here meant, I suppose, was his great uncle, the bishop of Murray.

(3) "At the bed-feit," Scotch; "ad pedes ejus," Latin; "à ses pieds," French.

(4) I have already noticed this passage as a proof, that the letter-writer meant to intimate the King was *poisoned* by Mary, though just before it intimates that he was only *poxed*. And Dr. Robertson, though his faith revolted at the former insinuation, though he did not believe the latter, though no one could believe both, and though the insinuation of both shewed evidently the forgery of the letter; yet continued, like a true confessor to the cause of party, to believe steadily in its authenticity, and even to engraft it upon that very history of his own, which was compelled to give it "the lie direct."—"He being at the uther end thair-
"of," Scotch; "cum ipse in remotissimâ lecti
"parte sit," Latin; "luy estant en la partie du
"liet plus esloignée," French.

(5) The French not understanding "nuncius," to mean a "message," as well as a "messenger;" rendered it "messager."

(6) "The laird of Luffe" before, was "Luffius" and "Lufs." It is now "Luffæ comarchus," and "le prevost de Luffe." The French, without reflection, takes up the variation of the Latin at the moment.

"Of

-
- “ Of the demandis that he askit at Joachim.
“ Of my estait (1).
“ Of my company.
“ Of the occasioun of my cumming.
“ And (2) of Joseph.
“ Item, the purpos that he and I had togidder.
“ Of the desyre that he has to ples me, and of
“ his repentance.
“ Of the interpretatioun of his letter.”
- “ De quibus interrogavit Joachimum.
“ De ordinatione familiæ (1).
“ De meo comitatu.
“ De causâ mei adventûs.
“ (2) De Josepho.
“ Item, de fermone inter me et illum.
“ De ejus voluntate placendi mihi, et de ejus
“ pœnitentiâ.
“ De interpretatione suarum literarum.”
- “ De ce qu’il s’est enquis a Joachim.
“ De reglement de la famille (1).
“ De ma fuite.
“ De la cause de mon arrivée.
“ (2) De Joseph.
“ Item, du devis d’entre moy et luy.
“ De la volonté qu’il a de me complaire, et de
“ sa repentance.
“ De l’interpretation des ses lettres.”

(1) This gives us another proof of what I have observed just before, the ready obsequiousness of the French to the Latin at every turn. “Gif I
 “had maid my estait,” Scotch, is in the place alluded to rendered, “an familiæ catalogum fecif-
 “sem,” and “si j’avoye faict quelque rolle de mes
 “domestiques.” But now, when the Latin fantastically varies what is not varied in his original, the one becomes “de ordinatione familiæ,” and the other “du reglement de la famille.”

(2) “And,” Scotch, omitted in the Latin and French.

“Of Willie Hiegait’s matter (1), of his departing.

“Of Monfiure de Levingstoun (2).”

“De negotio Gulielmi Hiegait (1), et de suo discessu.

“De domino de Leviston (2).”

“Du fait de Guillaume Hiegait (1), et de son depart.

“Du sieur de Levingstoun (2).”

(1) Here we have “confusion worse confounded.” We have seen before Walcar’s intelligence attributed to Hiegait, but strengthened and improved by Mynto’s; then re-attributed to Walcar; and Mynto’s finally given to Hiegait. And now we see Mynto’s, Walcar’s, and Hiegait’s own, all ultimately and collectively assigned to Hiegait.—

“Et”

“ Et” is added in the Latin and the French of the next clause.

(2) Here, as I shall afterwards shew, ends the former half of the letter, that which pretends to have been written in the night of January 24.

But what do these short notices mean, that come so strangely in the middle of the letter? Dr. Robertson supposes them, to be the *contents* of the *preceding* part of the letter, set down originally as loose *memorandums*, and then coming into the letter; because Mary, for want of other paper, took that of the *memorandums* to write upon*. This is too ridiculous in itself, to have been ever supposed by a candid and reflecting examiner of the point. The notices are *not* all of them, the contents of the preceding part of the letter. The *last* refers only to the *second* part. And the appearance of the letter here, is too regular and compleat, to admit of such a fortuitous advance of the notices. We might as well believe a dance of atoms, to have settled into the creation of the world. Yet Mr. Hume improved the absurdity. He said that these notices were “ a memorandum, of what Mary *intended to add the next morning*; and it is *added* accordingly:” when all the notices referred to in the writing of the next morning, are only *one*, and the other *fourteen* relate wholly to the *prior* part of the letter. And Mr. Tytler attacked him so vigourously, upon his hardy and false assertion; that he became ashamed of it, and silently withdrew it in a new edition†. Mr. Tytler indeed shewed decisively, against him

* Diff. 28.

† Hist. v. 147.

and Dr. Robertson; that these were points, on which Mary is made to refer Bothwell to the *bearer*, for further or new information, for further in the first fourteen, and for new in the last of all; that others occur of the very same nature, at the end of the other half of the letter; and that these are expressly understood from the makers of the letters themselves, when they produced them at York, to be “the credit gifin to the berar*.” This mode of referring to the credit of a bearer, was no uncommon one in those times. And we find Mary actually doing so, in a letter to Lord Huntly; when “referring the rest to the beirar, quhom ze will credit, she commits him to God †.

But, as the King's reported conversation ends here, let us examine one point of moment concerning it. Thomas Crawford, the gentleman from the Earl of Lenox who met Mary four miles from Glasgow, was produced by the rebels in England, to authenticate upon oath what the Queen said to him at the meeting, and also *what the King said to her afterwards*. “One Thomas Crawford said,” as the commissioners at Westminster tell us, “that as soon as the *Quene of Scotts had spoken with the King, his master, at Glasgow*; from tyme to tyme he, the said Crawford, was secretly informed by the King of *all things, which had passed betwixt the said Quene and the King*, to the intent he shuld report the same to the Erle of Lenox his master,” both the King and the King's father, it seems, being

* Tytler, 111—116.

† Goodall, ii. 316. See also Keith, 219, &c. Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, 118, &c. and Haynes, 18, 20, 32, 59, 70, 212, 213, 240, &c.

his master: “and that he did immediately, at the
 “same tyme, *write the same word by word*, as near
 “as he possibly could carry the same away.” This
 extraordinary conduct in Crawford, in Lenox, and
 in the King, shews the last *not* to have been so pe-
 nitent as he professed to be, and *not* so credulous as
 Dr. Robertson represents him to have been*. He
 was not weaned still from his little, low humour of
 plotting; that humour, which a weak mind like his
 frequently affects; and by which the mighty void
 of understanding is filled up with a wretched mass
 of cunning. But Crawford goes on thus. “And
 “sure he was, that the words now reported in his
 “writing, concerning the communion betwixt the
 “Quene of Scots and him upon the way near Glas-
 “gow, are the very same words in his conscience,
 “that were spoken; and that others, being reported
 “to him by the King, are the same in effect and
 “substance, as they were delivered by the King to
 “him, tho’ not percase in all parts the very words
 “themselves †.” Here it is very observable, what
 a mockery is played off upon the reader. Crawford’s
 deposition was intended to substantiate this conver-
 sation, and so derive a credit upon this and all the
 letters. Yet the conversation might be true, and
 the letters be false. This very man might have
 received an account of the conversation, in the
 manner insinuated; and have communicated it again
 to the rebels. But the intention of the rebels was
 frustrated, by the modesty of the swearer.

He does not swear, as they originally meant he
 should, as they still hoped all would believe he had

* Hist. i. 396.

† Goodall, ii. 246.

sworn, and as all have actually to this day believed he did swear that the words stated in the letter, for the Queen's address to him and the King's address to her, were respectively such in expression or in substance, as the Queen spoke and the King reported to him. No! He *seems* to do this, but he does *not*. He swears concerning the Queen's address, that "the words NOW REPORTED IN HIS WRITING,—are the very same words—that were spoken." He swears also concerning the King's address, that "others, being *reported to him by the King*, are the same in effect and substance, as they were *delivered by the King to him*;" not, that the words reported to him by the King, are the same in effect with—the words reported to him by the King, as the meaning seems at first to be; but that the words SET DOWN IN HIS WRITING, as "reported to him by the King," are the same in effect with what were really reported. His oath concerning the Queen's address, explains that concerning the King's. In both, "less is meant than meets the ear." He swears not of either, that the words STATED IN THE LETTER, are the same that were spoken and reported; but that the words STATED IN HIS WRITING are. Accordingly "the same Thomas Crawford coming before the commissioners, he did present a WRITING, *which* he said he had caused to be made according to the truth of his knowledge; *which*, being read, he affirmed upon his corporal oath there taken *to be true*, the tenor wherof hereafter followeth, *The words betwixt the Queen*," &c. That this writing contained equally the words betwixt the Queen and

and him, and betwixt the Queen and the King; is plain from the succeeding account given by the commissioners: "And after this [writing] was read, the said Crawford said, that as soon as the Quene of Scotts had spoken with the King his master at Glasgow," &c. as before. It is then subjoined again by the commissioners, that "the confession of the said Thomas Crawford in wryting hereafter followeth thus, *The words betwixt the Queen and me,*" &c. The reported conversation of the King and Queen, therefore, was equally in the writing, with the very address of the Queen to Crawford. It is *this writing*, and the conversation in *it*, which he swears to be true. He swears to the truth of nothing positively in the letter; as he has hitherto been presumed to do, both by the friends and by the enemies of Mary. And as the original of this writing has been lost, and no copy of it has been preserved; we know not what it was, that he swore to be true.

That he did not swear *all* to be so, is obvious from the singular management of his oath. Had he done this, he would barely have sworn, as he has for that reason been falsely supposed to have sworn; that the words *stated in the letter*, were the same as spoken and reported. But he did not chuse this. He selected some parts of the address, and some parts of the conversation. To the truth of *these* he swore, with the evident disparagement of the rest. This partial and exceptive kind of testimony, indeed, threw a brand of censure upon all the rejected passages. It indirectly convicted them of forgery. Several such, carrying plain

marks of forgery on their forehead, I have pointed out before. And the oath of Crawford shews clearly, that there were such in the letter. So different does the testimony of Crawford turn out to be, from what it has been uniformly considered to be; and even from what I considered it myself, before the present occasion induced me to examine it! It shews some incidents to be true in the letters, but IT PROVES OTHERS TO BE FALSE. And it thus DESTROYS THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE WHOLE AT ONCE, even in the very act of supporting it.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

§ I.

LETTER THE FIRST CONTINUED.

XXII.—“ I had almaist forzet, that Monfiure
 “ de Levingstoun (1) said in the Lady Reres eir
 “ at supper, that he (2) wald drink to ye folk yat
 “ I (2) wist of, gif I wald pledge thame (3). And
 “ efter supper he said to me, quhen I was lenand
 “ upon him warming me at the fyre, Ze have fair
 “ [fair] going to fé feik folk (4); zit ze cannot be
 “ sa welcom to thame as ze left sum body this day
 “ (5) in regrait, that will never be blyth quhill
 “ he fé zow agane (6). I askit at him quha that
 “ was. With that he thrustit my body (7), and said,
 “ that sum of his folkis had sene zow in fascherie
 “ (8); ze may ges at the rest (9).”

XXII.—“ Pené oblita eram, quód Dominus
 “ Levistonius (1) D. Reresiæ dixit in aurem, dum
 “ cœnaret, quód præ-biberet (2) eis quos nôssẽm
 “ (2), eâ lege ut ego re-biberem eorum nomine (3).
 “ Ac post cœnam dixit mihi, dum ad ignem cale-
 “ fiebam cúm ei inniterer, Bella, inquit, hujus-

“ modi hominum visitatio (4); non tamen tanta
 “ e tuo accessu potest eis esse lætitia, quanta in
 “ molestiâ quidam hodie (5) relictus est, qui nun-
 “ quam lætus erit, donec te iterum videbit (6).
 “ Ego de eo quæsiui quisnam is esset. Ille arc-
 “ tius corpus meum comprimens (7), respondit,
 “ Unus eorum qui te reliquerunt (8); tu quis sit
 “ divinare potes (9).”

XXII.—“ Peu s’n faut que je n’aye oublié,
 “ comme le Sieur de Levinstoun (1) a dit a l’o-
 “ reille en soupant a Mademoiselle Rerès, qu’elle
 “ (2) beut a ceux qu’elle (2) cognoissoit, sous con-
 “ dition que le pleigeroye en leur nom (3). Et
 “ apres souper il me dit, comme je me chauffoye
 “ aupres du feu, estant appuyée sur son espaule,
 “ Voyla une belle visitation de telles gens (4);
 “ mais toutesfois la joye de nostre venue ne leur
 “ peut estre si grande, combien est la facherie a
 “ celuy qui a esté delaisné seul aujourd’huy (5), et
 “ qui ne sera jamais joyeux, jusques a ce qu’il vous
 “ ayt veüe derechef (6). Je luy demanday, qui
 “ estoit cestuy-la. Lui m’embrassant plus estroite-
 “ ment (7), me respondit, C’est l’un de ceux qui
 “ vous ont laissée (8); vous pouvez deviner qui
 “ est cestuy-la (9).”

(1) “ Levingstoun,” Scotch; “ de Leviston”
 before, and “ Levistonius” now, Latin; “ de Le-
 “ vingstoun” before, and “ de Levinstoun” now,
 French. From this and other instances before and
 after, I suspect the French translator to have had a
 Scotch,

Scotch, as well as a French, copy before him; to have kept his eye almost entirely upon the Latin; but to have turned his eye to the Scotch at times, as to proper names, and to have caught some of them from it.—But why is Lord Levingston called “Monfiure” here? He is called “my “Lord Levistoun” in the rebel journal. And he was at times denominated *Monsieur*, I suppose, from some affectation of French manners in him.

(2) “He” and “I,” Scotch; “præ-biberet” and “nôssem,” Latin; “elle” and “elle,” by some negligence, French. Lady Reres was “ane of “the cheif of the Quenis privie chalmer,” says Buchanan*. She appears to have always attended the Queen.

(3) “Pledge thame,” Scotch, is in Latin “re-biberem eorum nomine;” in French “pleige-roye,” a word then common to the French as it still is to the English and Scotch languages, in this peculiar sense of it; and “*en leur nom*,” an expression purely Latin.

(4) This also is one of the memorable passages, that led Mr. Goodall, amidst the darkness of the times in which he lived, to the discovery of the true original. The Latin, as he observes, “did “read two words wrong in this short sentence, “namely, ““fair”” for ““*fair*”” or *forè*, and for ““feik”” *sick*, as it is in the edition of St. Andrew’s “in Scotland,—““*sik*,”” *suck*, with the first edition “published in England [and in English]. “Ye

* Detection, 8, Anderson ii, and Jebb, i, 239.

“ have fair going to see sick folk,” is a mean kind
 “ of phrase, used among people of the lowest rank.
 “ It ought to have been translated in this or the
 “ like manner, *Iter facis ægré, ægros vijendi gratiâ*.
 “ —But Mr. Buchanan’s mistakes spoil the sen-
 “ tence very considerably, “ *Bella hujusmodi ho-*
 “ *minum visitatio;*” and the Frenchman could
 “ not mend the matter, it behoved him to follow
 “ his leader, “ *Voyla une belle visitation de telles*
 “ *gens.*” I know not what others may think of
 “ this affair, but for my own part I would reckon;
 “ that this small sentence, maturely weighed, may
 “ be sufficient to prove, against ten thousand oaths,
 “ and as many acts of parliament, that these letters
 “ were originally written in the Scottish language*.”
 Such was the honest confidence of acuteness, in this
 new track of discovery. And every generous reader
 will be happy to reflect, that such acuteness and
 such confidence were rightly employed; and that
fact has now come in to the aid of reasoning, to
 prove the originality of the Scotch.

But let me observe in addition to this, that the ap-
 pearance of such a form of expression in the letters,
 again betrays their spuriousness. It “ is a *mean*
 “ kind of phrase, used among people of the *lowest*
 “ rank.” It was equally so, no doubt, in the days
 of Mary. The lapse of two hundred years, could
 not have degraded the language of kings and queens,
 into the diction of meanness, and the idioms of
 the lowest ranks in life. Accordingly, we see Bu-
 chanan not understanding it. It was confined to
 the familiarities of vulgar conversation. It was

therefore not recollected by him. And it ought, therefore, not to have appeared in a letter attributed to Mary.

This remark, of itself, shews that Buchanan was not, as of late he has been so steadily considered to be, the *actual fabricator* of the letters. Had he been, he could not have mistaken their meaning. He must have known *his own* intent, in writing every part of them. He must have known particularly, the drift of this proverbial form of speech; if it had come in the stream of composition to his pen, and mingled naturally with his language. And I have previously shewn Lethington, and not Buchanan, to have forged the letters.

(5) This shews Lord Levingston's speech to be made on the evening of Mary's arrival at Glasgow, on the evening of January the 23d. "*Ze cannot be sa welcom,*" Scotch; "*non—tanta e tuo accessu potest—esse lætitia,*" Latin; "*la joye de nostre*" [a mis-print, I suppose, for *vostre*] *venue ne leur peut estre si grande,*" French. How is the Scotch dilated here, in that loose and circuitous mode of writing Latin, which was considered as elegance by Buchanan, and is still considered so by all our modern writers of the language! And how fervilely does the French follow the Latin, becoming as circuitous and as loose as it!

(6) The printer of the French had absurdly thrown "*derechef,*" into a new sentence; when it is to answer "*agane*" and "*iterum.*"

(7) This

(7) This passage was wrongly expressed by the Latin, and, in consequence of that, more wrongly paraphrased by the French. "He thrust my body," means he gave her a secret hint with a touch of his elbow, that he had a peculiar and mysterious drift in what he said. This kind of corporal intimation is called *nudging*, in some of our northern counties. It should therefore have been rendered in Latin, *ille cubitum corpori meo leniter admovit* et, &c. Yet the Latin renders it, "ille *arctius* corpus meum *comprimens*." And the French rises upon it with an addition of absurdity, "m'embrassant plus estroitement." In this manner, and by a scale of mistakes, is a mere touch of the elbow magnified into a strict compression, and then heightened into a more strict embrace!

(8) "Sum of his folkis had sene zow in fische-rie," Scotch, most *freely* translated into "unus eorum qui te reliquerunt," Latin, and implicitly followed in French, "c'est l'un de ceux qui vous ont laissée." Indeed I suspect, from the turn of the clause, and from a couple of instances which we have seen before; that originally the Scotch was as the Latin now represents it, that it was so at the York conference, and that it was altered into its present form for the conference at Westminster. The sense of the Latin is too devious from the Scotch, and yet too adhesive to the context, to be the casual dash of a blundering hand. And as we have already seen a clause certainly, and a sentence probably, not in this very letter at York, and yet in it at Westminster; so we shall hereafter see a variation, in the very words of the Westminster and York originals of it,

(9) "Ze

(9) “Ze may ges at the rest,” Scotch; “tu quis
“ fit divinare potes,” Latin; “vous pouvez de-
“ viner qui est cestuy-la,” French. This also
serves to strengthen my suspicion. The sense is
still carried on as regularly in the Latin, as it is in
the Scotch; though in a very different manner.

But in this anecdote concerning Lord Leving-
ston, as in almost every other fact alluded to in the
letters, we find a proof of the forgery. Here we
particularly trace the feet of the forger, in the dirt
of his own steps. That Lord Levingston should
know of the adultery, if there had been any; that
he should know it so well, as to speak of it; that
he should speak of it to one of Mary’s attendants,
and that her confidante and intimate; that he
should speak of it to her at supper, when numbers
must have been present; and that he should at last
speak of it to Mary herself, to Mary *leaning on his
shoulder*, and to Mary in a circle of guests standing
around the fire; carries such a monstrous incredi-
bility with it, that none but one of Condé’s cock-
nies, and he a sworn foe to Mary, can believe it.

Nor is there any reason for believing Lord Le-
vingston, to have attended her from Kalendar to
Glasgow. There are some strong reasons, for be-
lieving the very contrary. That the Queen was
escorted by a party of the Hamiltons, is insinuated
in a passage before; in which Lenox sends word to
Sir James Hamilton, “that he [Lenox] wald never
“ have belevit, that he [Sir James] wald have ac-
“ companyit him [Sir James] with the Hammil-
“ tounis;” and in which Sir James answers, “yat
“ he wald nouthier accompany Stewart nor Ham-
“ miltoun,

“ miltoun, bot be Mary’s commandement.” But it is positively asserted hereafter; Mary saying, “ all the Hammiltounis ar heir, that accompanyis me verray honorabilly.” Buchanan also confirms this in his Detection, when he says of the Queen, that “ to Glasgow scho gais, accompanyit with the Hammiltounis, and uther the Kingis naturall enemies,” Bothwell and Huntly, who attended her to Kalendar *. She was therefore escorted by the Hamiltons, and not by the Levingstons, to Glasgow. And as in the other expedition to Stirling, when Lord Levingston is equally represented to have attended the Queen, she says, “ we had zister-day mair then iii. c. hors of his,” Huntly’s, “ and Levingstoun’s †;” so in this she says, what appears the more striking from the contrast, “ all the Hamiltounis ar heir, that accompanyis me verray honorabilly;” and then adds, what doubly excludes the idea of any others being with her at the time, “ all the freindis of the uther,” the Stewarts, “ convoyis me quhen I gang to sé him,” the King. Lord Levingston, therefore, *could* not have said what he is here represented to have said, after supper on the evening of the arrival at Glasgow.

XXIII.—“ I wrocht this day (1) quhill it was twa houris (2) upon this bracelet (3), for to put the key of it within the lock thairof, quhilk is

* Anderson, ii. 17, Jebb, i. 242, and Appendix, N° x,

† Letter vii, 2,

“ couplit

“ couplit underneth with twa cordounis (4). I
 “ have had sa lytill time that it is evill maid; bot I
 “ fall mak ane fairer (5). In the meane tyme (6)
 “ tak heid, that nane that is heir fé it; for all the
 “ warld will knaw it, becaus for haift it was maid
 “ in yair prefence (7).”

XXIII.—“ Ego hodie (1) elaboravi usque ad
 “ horam secundam (2) in hâc armillâ (3), ut
 “ clavem includerem, quæ subtus est annexa duo-
 “ bus funiculis (4). Malé autem facta est, ob tem-
 “ poris angustiam; sed faciam pulchriorem (5).
 “ Interim (6) prospice, ne quisquam eorum qui hîc
 “ sunt videat; quia omnes mortales eum agnoscent,
 “ tantâ festinatione in omnium oculis facta est (7).”

XXIII.—“ J’ay aujourd’huy (1) travaillé a deux
 “ heures (2) en ce brasselet (3), pour y enfermer la
 “ clef, qui est jointe au bas avec deux petites
 “ cordes (4). Il est mal fait, a cause du peu de
 “ temps qu’on a eu; mais j’en feray un plus beau
 “ (5). Cependant (6) advisez, que personne de
 “ ceux qui sont icy ne le voye; car tout le monde
 “ le cognoist, tant il a esté fait a la haste devant
 “ les yeux de chacun (7).”

(1) This is the second day of writing, as will appear from a note hereafter; the day but one after the arrival at Glasgow; January 25th.

(2) “ Quhill it was twa houris,” Scotch, till two o’clock; as Mary is said in the rebel journal, to have gone with Bothwell “ to Bastian’s banquet
 “ and masque about eleven houris; and thairefter
 “ thay baith returnit to the abbay, and talkit quhill
 “ twelve

“ twelve houris and eftir *.” Accordingly the Latin fays, “ ad horam fecundam.” And the French, coinciding exactly in idiom with the Scotch, fays, “ a deux heures.” But let us obferve the conduct of Mary here. She had come to Glasgou, on a vifit to the King in a great illnefs. The King is ftill very ill. He keeps his bed. Yet what does Mary do on this vifit? She fees him immediately on her arrival. She goes away to fupper. She returns to him. She fits with him for fome time. She excufes herfelf for fitting longer, becaufe of her wearinefs. She fees him the next morning. But, for the reft of the day, we know not what fhe does. We only know, that fhe has very little converfation with him; that, in the evening or night of this day, fhe writes a long account of what the King faid the night before; and that only a hint occurs, of what the King had faid on this day. So greatly does fhe neglect him for the fecond day, the day after her arrival! But, on the third, this neglect is confumated by what is faid here, her working till two o’clock in the afternoon upon a bracelet; and by what is faid hereafter, “ I faw him not this evening
“ for to end zour bracelet.” And this forms one more of the wild incredibilities, that mark the letters. Had Mary come from a *pretended* regard, as I have remarked before, fhe *would* not have done fo; and, as fhe came from a *real*, fhe *could* not.

(3) “ *This bracelet*” implies it to have been fent, with the letter, to Bothwell. Accordingly fhe bids him immediately afterward “ tak heid, that

* Appendix, N^o x.

“ nane that is heir fé it.” Yet she soon afterwards says thus to him, “ advertise me gif ze will have “ it.” Such are the contradictions, in which the letter-writer involves himself! And the second, pretended, confession of Paris confirms the contradiction; by declaring, that he did not carry the bracelets till some time afterwards*.

(4) That *men* wore bracelets so late as this period, was unknown to me, but is plain from the letter. These were not fastened together, as they now are, by a snap-lock. They had a formal key to the lock.

(5) “ I fall mak ane fairer,” Scotch, implying that she would make *another*; “ j’en feray un plus “ beau,” French, implying that she would make *it* fairer; because the Latin is ambiguous, “ faciam pulchriorem.”

(6) “ In the meane tyme,” Scotch, by a wrong punctuation was thrown into the preceding sentence; when it plainly belongs, and is given by the Latin and the French, to this. I have therefore placed it right.

(7) This is another of those contradictions, in which the unsettled ideas of a forger are continually involving him, and by which he betrays himself continually. Lord Levingston is just before represented, as knowing of the adultery, as hinting it to one of Mary’s confidantes at supper, and as even insinuating it plainly to Mary herself, in the midst of company. Nor is Mary alarmed at his

* Goodall, ii. 79.

knowledge,

knowledge, at his hint, or at his insinuation. Yet *now* she is afraid, lest any of her present attendants should see a pair of bracelets, which she was sending to Bothwell. She seems to *enjoy* a real detection of the adultery by Levingston; an intimation given of it, in the presence of many attendants; and even a whispered annunciation of it to herself, before many persons who were close to her. And yet *now* she is apprehensive, of any suspicions of it in any of her train, from the sight of one of her presents. Thus the sturdy oak, that feared no blasts of winter, in an instant is turned into a sensitive plant, and shrinks up at the approach of a finger!—"For haist," Scotch; "*tantâ* festinatione," Latin; "*tant—a la hâste*," French.

XXIV.—"I am now passand to my fascheous
 "purpois. Ze gar me dissemble sa far, that I (1)
 "haif horring thairat; and ye caus me do almaist
 " (2) the office of a traitores. Remember how,
 "gif it wer not to obey zow (3), I had rather be
 "deid or I did it (3); my hart (4) bleides at it
 " (3). Summa, he will not cum with me, ex-
 "cept upon conditioun that I will promise to him,
 "that I fall be at bed and buird with him as of
 "befoir; and that I fall leave him (5) na ofter
 " (6); and doing this upon my word (7), he will
 "do all thingis that I pleis, and cum with me.
 "Bot he hes prayit me, to remane upon him quhil
 " uther morne (8)."

XXIV.—"Nunc

XXIV.—“Nunc proficiscor ad institutum meum
 “odiosum. Tu me adeo dissimulare cogis, ut
 “etiam ipsa (1) horream; ac tantum non (2) pro-
 “ditricis partes me agere cogis. Illud reminiscere,
 “quod nisi tibi obsequendi desiderium me cogeret
 “(3), mallem mori quam hæc (3) committere;
 “cor enim mihi ad hæc (3) sanguinem fundit (4).
 “Breviter, negat se mecum venturum, nisi eâ lege,
 “ut ei pollicear me communi cum eo mensâ et
 “thoro usuram velut antea, ac ne sæpius (6) eum
 “derelinquam (5): hoc si faciam (7), quicquid
 “velim faciet, ac me comitabitur. Sed me rogavit,
 “ut se exspectarem in diem perendinum (8).”

XXIV.—“Maintenant je vien a ma deliberation
 “odieuse. Vous me contraignez de tellement dis-
 “simuler, que j’ (1) en ay horreur; veu que vous
 “me forcez de ne jouer pas seulement (2) le per-
 “sonnage d’une trahistresse. Qu’il vous souviene,
 “que si l’affection de vous plaire ne me forçoit (3),
 “j’aymeroye mieux mourir que de commettre ces
 “choses (3); car le cœur me feigne (4) en icelles
 “(3). Bref, il ne veut venir avec moy, sinon
 “sous ceste condition, que je luy promette d’user
 “en commun d’une seule table, et d’une mesme
 “liet, comme auparavant; et que je ne l’aban-
 “donne (5) si souvent (6): et que, si je le fay
 “ainsi (7), il fera tout ce que je voudray, et me
 “suivra. Mais il m’a prié, que je l’attendisse en-
 “cor deux jours (8).”

(1) “I,” Scotch; “etiam ipsa,” Latin; “je,”
 French, from the corrected Latin.

VOL. II. M (2) “And

(2) “And—almaiſt,” Scotch; “ac tantum non,” Latin; and, from the ignorance of the Frenchman concerning the peculiar import of *tantum non*, “veu que vous me forcez de ne jouer pas seulement,” French.

(3) “Gif it wer not to obey zow,” Scotch; “nisi tibi obsequendi defiderium me cogeret,” Latin; “ſi l’affectiō de vous plaire ne me forçoit,” French. “It, it,” Scotch; “hæc, hæc,” Latin; “ces choſes, icelles,” French.

(4) This is the ſecond fit of remorse. It is alſo a ſtrong one. But it is gone almoſt as ſoon as the other. It ends ſuddenly, like that. And, like that, it ſuddenly paſſes off into a proſecution of the very buſineſs, which is the ſubject of the remorse. Both remind one of the repentance of Falſtaff, who declares that he will not be damned for ever a King’s ſon in Chriſtendom; and then, the very next minute, goes “from praying to purſe-taking.”—“Enim,” Latin, and “car,” French, are added.

(5) Whoſe fault was it, that the King and Queen were not at bed and board before? The Queen’s, ſays the letter. *She* had left *him*. Thus does the forger contrive to tell us of his own impoſture, by the force which he puts upon facts. And let us take the ſigns, which he has ſo kindly been pleaſed to give us; and add one more proof of the forgery, to the many which we have ſeen already.

The King and Queen were at Stirling together, about the end of September before. Their conduct in parting there, let the French embaffadour, and the
privy

privy council of Scotland, tell us together. “ On
 “ the 22d of the last month,” says the former in a
 “ letter of October 15th, “ your brother—arrived
 “ at Stirling,—where he found this Queen in good
 “ health.—The Queen is now returned from Stir-
 “ ling to Lisleburgh,” Edinborough, “ as being
 “ vacation-season ; which, as you know, continues
 “ in this country from August until Martin-mas ;
 “ and during which the nobility are convened, to
 “ look after the public affairs of the Queen and her
 “ realm. *The King however abode still at Stirling.*”
 “ About ten or twelve days ago,” says the council
 in a letter of October the 8th, to the Queen Dow-
 ger of France, “ the Queen at our request came to
 “ this towne of Lisleburgh ; to give her orders
 “ about some affairs of state, which without her per-
 “ sonal presence could not be got dispatched. *Her*
 “ *Majesty was desirous, the King should have come*
 “ *along with her ; but because he liked to remain at*
 “ *Stirling, and wait her return thither, she left him*
 “ *there, with intention to go towards him again in*
 “ *five or six days.*” Yet IT WAS HER FAULT, says
 the letter-writer, that they were not at bed and
 board together. But *why* did the King “ like to
 “ remain at Stirling,” when the Queen was obliged
 to go to Edinborough upon publick business ? The
 embassadour and the council shall again tell us.
 “ The King, however, abode still at Stirling ; and
 “ *he told me there, that he had a mind to go beyond*
 “ *sea, in a sort of desperation.*” Yet IT WAS
 MARY, says the letter-writer, that was frequently
 or continually leaving *him*. “ I said to him,” adds
 the embassadour, “ what I thought proper at the
 M 2 time ;

“ time ; but still I could not believe, that he was
“ in earnest. Since that time, the Earl of Lenox,
“ his father, came to visit him [at Stirling] ; and
“ he has written a letter to the Queen, signifying
“ that *it is not in his power, to divert his son from his*
“ *intended voyage ; and prays her Majesty to use her*
“ *interest therein.*” “ Meantime, while the Queen
“ was absent,” say the council, “ the Earl of Le-
“ nox, his father, came to visit him at Stirling ;
“ and having remained with him two or three days,
“ he went his way again to Glasgow.—From Glas-
“ gow my Lord Lenox wrote to the Queen, and
“ acquainted her Majesty ; that altho’ *formerly,*
“ both by *letters and messages,* and *now* also by *com-*
“ *munication* with his son, he had *endeavoured to divert*
“ *him from an enterprize he had in view,* he never-
“ theless *had not the interest* to make him alter his
“ mind. This project, he tells the Queen, was to
“ *retire out of the kingdom beyond sea ; and that, for*
“ *this purpose, he had just then a ship lying ready.*”
Yet THE KING WOULD GLADLY HAVE LIVED WITH
THE QUEEN, the letter insinuates, if she would have
permitted him. “ This letter from the Earl of
“ Lenox, the Queen received on Michaelmas-day
“ in the morning ; and that same evening the King
“ arrived here [at Edinborough], about ten of the
“ clock. When he and the Queen were a-bed to-
“ gether, her Majesty took occasion to talk to him,
“ about the contents of his father’s letter ; and *be-*
“ *sought him to declare to her, the ground of his*
“ *designed voyage ;* but, in this, he would *by no means*
“ *satisfy her.*” “ The Earl of Lenox’s letter came
“ to the Queen’s hand, on St. Michael’s day ; and
“ her

“ her Majesty was pleased to impart the same in-
“ continent, to the lords of her council, in order
“ to receive advice thereupon. And if her Majesty
“ was *surprized* by this advertisement from the
“ Earl of Lenox, these lords were no less *astonished*
“ to understand; that the King should entertain any
“ thought, of *departing after so strange a manner out*
“ *of her presence*: nor was it *possible* for them to form
“ a *conjecture*, from whence such an imagination
“ could take its rise.—The same evening the King
“ came to Edinburgh; and then her Majesty en-
“ tered calmly with him, upon the subject of *his*
“ *going abroad*; that she might understand from
“ himself, the *occasion* of *such a resolution*. But he
“ would *by no means* give, or acknowledge that he
“ had, any *occasion* offered him of *discontent*.” Yet
it WAS THE QUEEN, that would not permit him to
live with her. “ Early the next morning the
“ Queen sent for me, and for all the lords and other
“ counsellors:—and the Queen *prayed* the King to
“ *declare*, in presence of the lords, and before me,
“ the *reason* of his *projected departure*; since he would
“ not be pleased, to notify the same to her in pri-
“ vate betwixt themselves. She likewise *took him*
“ *by the hand*, and *besought him for God’s sake to de-*
“ *clare*, if *she* had given him *any occasion* for *this*
“ *resolution*; and *entreated* he might *deal plainly*, and
“ *not spare her*.—I likewise took the freedom to tell
“ him, that his departure must certainly affect,
“ either *his own*, or the *Queen’s* honour; that if
“ the Queen had afforded any ground for it, his
“ declaring the same would affect her Majesty; as
“ on the other hand, if he should go away without

“ giving any cause for it, this thing could not at
“ all redound to his praise.—The King at last de-
“ clared, that HE HAD NO GROUND AT ALL GIVEN
“ HIM for such a deliberation.” “ The lords of
“ council being acquainted *early* next morning, that
“ the King was *just a going* to return to Stirling,
“ they repaired to the Queen’s apartment;—to
“ understand from the King, whether, according to
“ advice imparted to the Queen by the Earl of
“ Lenox, he had formed a resolution to depart by
“ sea out of the realme, and upon what ground,
“ and for what end.—And here we did remonstrate
“ to him, that his own honour, the Queen’s ho-
“ nour, the honour of us all, were concerned.—
“ And for her Majesty, so far was she from mi-
“ nistring to him occasion of discontent, that, on
“ the contrary, *he had all the reason in the world to*
“ *thank GOD, for giving him so wise and virtuous a*
“ *person, as she had shewed herself in all her actions.*
“ Then her Majesty was pleased to enter into the
“ discourse, and *spoke affectionately to him*: beseech-
“ ing him, that seeing he would not open his mind
“ in private to her the last night, *according to her*
“ *most earnest request*; he would at least be pleased
“ to declare before these lords, where she had of-
“ fended him in any thing. But though the Queen,
“ and all others that were present, together with
“ Mons. du Croc, used all the interest they were
“ able, to perswade him to open his mind; yet he
“ would not at all *own*, that he intended any voyage
“ or had any discontent; and declared *freely*, that
“ the QUEEN HAD GIVEN HIM NO OCCASION FOR
“ ANY.” Yet he persisted in it. Such was the
spirit

spirit and understanding of this wayward child of fortune ! He compleatly exculpated the Queen. But the letter-writer will not take even *his* word, in her favour. He will be like his hero Darnly. He will persist, when “ he has no ground at all given “ him for such a deliberation.” And Mary shall be condemned, for not suffering Darnly to live with her ; even though Darnly himself says that he is resolved to go abroad, though he tells it to Le Croc, though he tells it to Lenox, and though he owns before all the council, he has no reason for such a resolution.

But let us attend the farther account of this extraordinary man. “ Whereupon,” adds the council, “ he took leave of her Majesty, and went his “ way *.” And, as the embassadour proceeds to say, “ thereupon he *went out of the chamber of presence*, saying to the Queen, ADIEU, MADAM, “ YOU SHALL NOT SEE MY FACE FOR A LONG “ SPACE †.” Yet, poor good man ! THE QUEEN WOULD NOT LET HIM STAY AT HOME.

Nor was he worse than his word. He still persisted in his resolution of going abroad. Even when he abandoned this, he kept at a distance from the Queen. An order had been made by the privy council on the 24th of September, for summoning the nobles, gentlemen, and others of some adjacent counties, to meet the King and Queen at Melrofs on the 8th of October following ; in their progress to hold assizes, at several places in person. But the

* Keith, 348—349.

† Ibid, 345—346.

King chose not to attend, and she was obliged to go without him *.

In this progress, she was seized with a malignant fever. On the 25th of October, at six in the morning, she lay for a considerable time as if she had been quite dead. And in a letter from the French embassadour, dated the 24th, he says, that the King was at Glasgow; that *he had been apprized of her illness*; that he had *had time enough to have visited her*, if he had been willing; and that yet he had never been near her. She had then been ill eight days. "This is a fault in the King," says the embassadour, "for which I can make no apology." And the Bishop of Ross adds, in a letter of the 27th; "the King all this tyme remanis in Glasgow, and zit is nocht cumm toward the Quenis Majestie." He appeared at last, when the crisis had been now three days over. This took place on the 25th. She then fell into a violent sweat, which was the termination of the fever. Yet she was left in a very weak condition. And it was not till the 28th, that the King appeared. Even then, he staid only one night with her †.

In this third period of voluntary exile from the Queen, he continued about a month; though the Queen was all the while, in an un-recovered state. But let us see Le Croc's account of her at this period. "The Queen," he says in a letter of December the 2d, "is for the present at Craigmillar.—

* Goodall, i. 302—303. † Keith App. 133—136, and Pref. vii. "Sche revived," says Knox, "by resfoun they had bound small cords about hir shackle-bones [ankles], hir knees, and grit toes" (p. 399).

“ She is in the hands of the physicians, and I do
 “ assure you is not at all well; and do believe the
 “ principal part of her disease, to consist in a deep
 “ grief and sorrow: nor does it seem possible, to
 “ make her forget the same. Still she repeats these
 “ words, *I could wish to be dead.* You know very
 “ well, that the injury she has received is exceed-
 “ ing great, and her Majesty will never forget it.
 “ The King her husband came to visit her at Jed-
 “ burgh,” where she lay ill, “ the very day after
 “ Captain Hay went away;” who was sent with
 the Bishop’s letter, on Sunday October the 27th *.
 “ He remained there but one single night; and
 “ yet, in that short time, I had a great deal of con-
 “ versation with him. He returned to see the
 “ Queen, about five or six days ago: and the day
 “ before yesterday he sent word, to desire me to
 “ speak with him half a league from this; which
 “ I complied with, and found that things go still
 “ worse and worse. I think, he intends to go away
 “ to-morrow; but *in any event* I’m much assured, as
 “ *I always have been,* that *he won’t be present at the*
 “ *baptism* †.” Le Croc was right. Darnly would
 not be present at the baptism of the prince, his own
 son; which took place at Stirling, a few days after-
 wards. Yet, with an absurdity which even Le
 Croc did not expect from him, he thought proper
 to take up his residence at that very time in Stir-
 ling; though he was previously determined not to
 come near the Queen, not to have any part in the
 baptism, and not to have any share in the entertain-
 ments. He thus exposed himself and her the more

* Keith App. 135.

† Keith Pref. vii.

conspicuously,

conspicuously, by his conduct. The French embassadour was so shocked with his behaviour, that he absolutely refused to see him. But let the embassadour speak his own sentiments, upon the occasion. “The King,” he says in a letter of December 23, “had *still given out*, that he would *depart* “*two days before the baptism*: but, when the time “came on, he made no sign of removing at all; “only, he still *kept close within his own apartment*. “The very day of the baptism, he sent three several “times; desiring me either to come and see him, “or to appoint him an hour, that he might come “to me in my lodgings: so that I found myself “obliged *at last* to signify to him, that seeing he “was in no good correspondence with the Queen, “I had it in charge from the most Christian King, “to have no conference with him. And I caused “tell him likewise, that as it would not be very “proper for him to come to my lodgings, because “there was such a crowd of company there; so “he might know, that there were two passages to “it, and if he should enter by the one, I would “be constrained to go out by the other *. His “bad deportment is incurable, nor can there be “ever any good expected from him.—The Queen “behaved herself admirably well, all the time of “the baptism; and shewed so much earnestness, “to entertain all the goodly company in the best

* To this it is that Buchanan alludes, in his wild way of writing history, *à la mode de Gibbon*; when he says, that “ye “forane ambassadouris wer warnit not to talk with him, quhen “zit the maist part of the day thay wer all in the same castell “quhair he was.” 15. Anderson ii, and 242. Jebb i.

“manner,

“ manner, that this made her forget, in a good
 “ measure, her former ailments. But I am of the
 “ mind, however, that she will give us some trouble
 “ as yet; nor can I be brought to think otherwise,
 “ so long as she continues to be so pensive and
 “ melancholy. She sent for me yesterday, and I
 “ found her laid on the bed *weeping sore*, and she
 “ complained of a grievous pain in her side. And,
 “ for a surcharge of evils, it chanced that the day
 “ her Majesty set out from Edinburgh for this
 “ place,” Stirling, “ she hurt one of her breasts
 “ on the horse; which, she told me, is now swell-
 “ ed. I am much grieved, for the many troubles
 “ and vexations she meets with *.”

In this mode of acting, adding absurdity to ab-
 surdity, and heaping one insult upon the head of
 another; did the King continue till the 26th or 27th
 of December. He then received a letter from his
 father, of whom he inherited all his folly and per-
 verseness. “ For that the extremitie of this stormy
 “ weather,” says Lenox, “ causes me to dout of
 “ your setting forward so soon on your journey [to
 “ Peebles], therefore I stay till I heir farther from
 “ your Majestie; which I fall humbly beseech you
 “ I may, and I fall not fayle to wayt upon you
 “ accordingle †.” On the receipt of this, the King,
 notwithstanding “ the extremitie of this stormy
 “ weather,” ended his residence at Stirling, just as
 he had continued it before. He sat off, without
 taking the least notice of the Queen. He retired
 to Glasgow. And there he was taken ill ‡.

* Keith Pref. vii.

† Ibid. ibid. vii.

‡ Knox, 401.

I have gone over this history of the King's conduct towards the Queen, for the last four months before his illness; in order partly to fix upon its proper foundation, which I think has never yet been done, the King's non-appearance at the baptism*; and principally to lay open, in a satisfactory manner, another proof of the general forgery. These little incidents in the letters, have not been sufficiently attended to before. Yet they are decisive evidences against them. And they should all of them be dwelt upon particularly, as they arise.

(6) I now wish to point out a new evidence of the forgery, in a new species of variation. The letters, as I have shewn in the former volume, were exhibited in Scotch at York and at Westminster. Both these MSS have been transmitted down to us, the one in a number of extracts made by the commissioners, and the other in the printed copy. But then there are some different readings in the two MSS, which have never been noticed. Thus a passage before, "he is not over mekle *deformit*," as it stands in the CODEX WESTMONASTERIENSIS;

* The absence of the King from the baptism and the entertainments, has been accounted for differently by the friends and the enemies of Mary. The latter have referred it to the unkindness of the Queen (Detection, 15, and Robertson, i. 389). The former have ascribed it to Elizabeth's private instructions to her embassadour, not to give the appellation of King to Darnly (Keith, 360, Goodall, i. 319, Guthry's Scotch Hist. vi. 373, and Stuart, i. 175—176). But both are plainly misled by a spirit of refinement. The absence was occasioned by the King himself. *He chose to be absent*. This Le Croc's letter decisively shews. He had determined to be absent, weeks before the baptism. And he adhered to his determination, at it,

appears

appears thus in the CODEX EBORACENSIS, "he is
 " not oer meikle *spilt*." The words immediately
 following too, "zit he has *ressavit* verray mekle,"
 are read thus, "bot he has *gottin* verray mekill."
 The succeeding words also are a little different,
 "he has almaist slane me with his braith, it is
 " *worse than* [York MS *war nor*] zour uncle's,
 " and zit I cum na neirer *unto him* [left out in
 " York MS], bot [*sat*, York MS] in ane," &c.
 And, in the next extract made by the commission-
 ers, we have the following variations thrown into
 the passage now before us: "Remember [*how*,
 " Westm. MS *yow*, York MS] he will not cum
 " with me, except upon conditioun that I will
 " promise to him, that I fall be at bed and buird
 " with him as of befoir, and that I fall leif him *na*
 " *after*" [*na efter*, York]. Na after," Scotch,
 has "ne *fæpiús*," Latin, and "si souvent," French.
 There is some sense in the French providing, that
 the Queen should not leave the King *so often*. But
 there is absolutely none at all, in the Latin charging
 her not to leave him *oftener*. Yet the Latin copy
 reading "fæpiús," the Frenchman, with more
 judiciousness than he generally exerts, retained the
 word, and furnished a meaning. And the reading
 of the York copy removes all the absurdity at once,
 gives us the true word, and shews us the true mean-
 ing. The Queen was not to leave the King *after-*
wards.—With such variations, were the very copies
 delivered to the commissioners at Westminster and
 at York! At the *first* appearance of Mary's letters,
 she had written "spilt," "bot," "gottin," and
 "na efter;" but, at the second, the words were
 changed

changed into “deformit,” “zit,” “ressavit,” and “na ofter.” And this little circumstance alone would have been sufficient, to disclose the whole forgery.

(7) The Latin has here mistaken the meaning of the Scotch, and the blind Frenchman was obliged to follow his blinded conductor. “*Doing this up-
“ on my word,*” refers to the clause preceding “*upon condition that I will promise to him,*” and means *promising* itself. This the expression of “*doing this upon my word,*” shews decisively. Yet the Latin renders the clause, “*hoc si faciam;*” and the French, “*si je le fay ainsi.*” And both the French and Latin, for that reason, leave out the latter half of the clause, “*upon my word;*” as having no sense and meaning, upon their interpretation of the whole.

(8) “*Quhil uther morne,*” till the next day but one. This shews the second half of the letter, to be written for January 25th; as January 27th was actually the day, on which she set out with the King*.

* See Rebel Journal in Appendix, N^o x.

§ II.

LETTER THE FIRST CONTINUED.

XXV.—“ He spak verray bravely at ye begin-
“ ning, as yis beirer will schaw zow, upon the pur-
“ pois (1) of the Inglismen, and of his depart-
“ ing (2): bot in ye end he returnit agane to his
“ humilitie (3).

XXVI.—“ He schawit, amongis uther purpo-
“ sis (4), yat he knew weill aneuch, that my bro-
“ ther had schawin me yat thing, quhilk he had
“ spoken in Striviling; of the quhilk he denyis ye
“ ane half, and abone all, yat ever he came in his
“ chalmer (5). For to mak him traist me,”

XXV.—“ Valde ferociter ab initio loquebatur,
“ uti qui has fert tibi narrabit, de colloquio (1)
“ cum Anglis, de suo discessu (2): sed tandem re-
“ versus est ad suam humanitatem (3).

XXVI.—“ Inter alia consilia quæ mihi retulit
“ (4), se satis scire, quód meus frater ad me detu-
“ lisset, quæ ipse cum eo egisset Sterlini; quarum
“ rerum dimidium negavit, ac maximé illud, quód
“ fratris mei cubiculum esset ingressus (5). Ut
“ ego faciliús fidem apud eum”

XXV.—“ Au

XXV.—“ Au commencement il parloit fort
 “ asprement, comme vous recitera celuy qui porte
 “ les presentes, du devis (1) eu avec les Anglois,
 “ et de son depart (2): mais enfin il revint a sa
 “ douceur (3).

XXVI.—“ Entre autres secrets qu’il me recita,
 “ il dit (4), qu’il scavoit bien, que mon frere
 “ m’avoit rapporté ce qu’il avoit fait avec luy a
 “ Stirling; des quelles choses il a nié la moytie,
 “ et principalement, qu’il fust entré en la chambre
 “ de mon frere (5). Et afin”

(1) “ Purpois,” Scotch; “ colloquio,” Latin;
 “ devis,” French. But the translations are both
 wrong. “ Purpois of the Inglismen and of his de-
 “ parting,” can mean only the *point* concerning the
 Englishmen and his departure.

(2) He spoke very bravely at the beginning,
 says the letter, concerning the plan of departing in
 an English vessel. But let us turn to the former
 part of the letter, and there see how very bravely
 he speaks. The letter-writer neglected to do this,
 and so plunged into a contradiction. “ I askit
 “ quhy he wald pas away in ye Inglis schip; he
 “ DENYIS IT, and SWEIRIS THAIRUNTO; bot he
 “ *grantis* that *he spak with the men.*” All his bravery
 lay in *denying* the fact, and in denying it with an
oath. So little was he resolute, at the beginning
 or at the end of the conversation, about his de-
 parture in an English ship; that he denied he ever
 had any such intention, and he swore he had not.
 And so gross is the contradiction here! Indeed the
 line

line of conduct *here* assigned him, would have suited much better with his character, than what was assigned before. The letter, also, would then have agreed with history. But Lethington first makes him deny the intention; then thinks it best, to make him talk very bravely about it at first; yet forgets to erase the former, when he has inserted the latter. And thus both stand together in the same letter, the one to shew a forgery from its opposition to history, and both to shew it again from their opposition to each other.—“And,” Scotch, omitted in the Latin, but preserved in the French from the corrected Latin, “et.”

(3) “Humilitie,” Scotch; “humanitas,” Latin; “douceur,” French. The Miscellaneous Remarker observes*: that, as “it would have been absurd to have made Mary praise the innate and characteristical civility of Darnly, *sua humanitas*; hence we may conclude, that the Latin translator used the word *humilitas*, and that *humanitas* is an error of the press.” Yet “the faithful French translator says,—*sa douceur*.” The word *humanitas*, I acknowledge, *was* an error of the press or pen. But it was altered into *humilitas* in the corrected Latin. For that reason, the Frenchman says “*sa douceur*.” He does not mean *humanity*; but *humility*, by the word. And he actually uses the same word in the same sense, a few pages before; “ze saw him never speik mair *bumbler*,” being rendered “*nunquam vidi eam—loqui humilius*,” and “je ne l’ay jamais veu—parler si *douce-ment*.”

* P. 10.

(4) "Purposis," Scotch, points or discourses, not "consilia," Latin, or "secrets," French. *Dixit* is omitted in Latin, and yet "il dit" appears in French from the corrected Latin.

(5) What this alludes to, I know not. "His," Scotch; "fratris mei," Latin; "mon frere," French.

"it behovit me to fenzé in sum thingis with him
 "(1). Thairfoir, quhen he requēistit me to promise
 "unto him, that quhen he was haill we fuld have
 "baith ane bed; I said to him fenzeingly, and
 "making me to beleve his promisis (2), that gif he
 "changeit not purpois (3) betwix yis and that tyme,
 "I wald be content thairwith: bot in the meane
 "tyme I bad him tak heid, that he let na body wit
 "thairof, becaus, to speik amangis ourselfis, the
 "lordis culd not be offendit, nor will evill thairfoir
 "(4); bot thay wald feir in respect of the boisting
 "he made of thame (5), that gif ever"

"assequerer, necesse mihi erat quædam fingendo ei
 "obsecundare (1). Quamobrem cum rogaret ut ei
 "pollicerer, cum primum revaluisset, communem
 "nobis fore lectum; ego dissimulanter dixi, ac fin-
 "gens me bellis (2) ejus pollicitationibus fidem
 "habere, me consentire, nisi ille interea propositum
 "mutaret (3): sed interea videret ne quisquam
 "id rescisceret, propterea quod procures nostris col-
 "loquiis offendi non possent, nec ideo (4) malè
 "velle;

“ velle; fed in timore futuros, quód comitatus
 “ fuiſſet (5), ſi aliquando inter nos concordés eſſe-
 “ mus, ſe daturum”

“ qu’il me creuſt pluſtoſt, j’eſtoye contrainte de luy
 “ accorder quelque choſe en diſſimulant (1). Par-
 “ quoy, lors qu’il me priaſt, que je luy promiſſe,
 “ qu’incontinent qu’il ſeroit guéry, nous ne faiſions
 “ plus qu’un liſt; je luy dy par diſſimulation, en
 “ faingnant que je croyoye à ſes belles (2) pro-
 “ meſſes, que je l’y accorderoye, pour veu qu’il ne
 “ changeaſt d’avis (3): mais cependant qu’il
 “ regardaſt que perſonne n’en ſceuſt rien, parce que
 “ les ſeigneurs ne pourroient eſtre offenſez de nos
 “ propos, ny conſequemment (4) nous en vouloir
 “ mal; ains ſeroient en crainte de ce qu’il m’auroit
 “ ſuiuy (5). Et ſi nous pouvions eſtre d’accord
 “ enſemble,”

(1) “ Fenzé in ſum thingis with him,” Scotch;
 “ quædam fingendo ei obſecundare,” Latin; “ de
 “ luy accorder quelque choſe en diſſimulant,”
 French.

(2) “ Promiſis,” Scotch; “ *bellis* pollicitationi-
 “ bus,” Latin; “ *belles* promeſſes,” French.

(3) This is a ſtroke at the *real* character of
 Darnly. Truth breaks out through the cloud of
 fiction. And he, who has been hitherto repreſented
 as a forced exile from his Queen and his family,
 is here intimated to have been, as he was, a volun-
 tary one. We have a ſimilar ray of truth ſaſhing
 out juſt before, concerning his reſoluteneſs about

the English ship, and his own departure in it; another still nearer, concerning Murray's enmity to Darnly; and others again, concerning the enmity of the lords in general to him.

(4) "Thairfoir," Scotch; "ideó," Latin; "consequemment," French. The Frenchman applied "ideó" to the lords being offended, when it relates to the King and Queen conversing together; and so rendered it, as he does. But what poor and petty exertion of mind is here! The Queen gravely informs the King, that the lords could not be discontented, and would not form plots,—though he and she did *talk*, that is *live*, together. Was ever such impertinence of words?

(5) "Boisting," Scotch, signifies threatening. Mary's nobles say, "in cais" they "had raisit ane armie" to release her from Lochlevin, "it was menasit and *boistit*, that thay [the rebels] "sould send hir heid to thame *." Bothwell also is represented by Paris in his first confession, as acting and speaking thus: "O beast, said he to me, "and *boasted* to strike at me with his whinger †." He too, who is here said to "boist," is expressly said to "threittin" before ‡. And this sense the Latin intended to express, the *comitatus* of it being plainly a mis-print only for *comminatus*. Yet the Frenchman finding *comitatus*, and having no Scotch to direct him, he was obliged to follow it. And he followed it with some judgment, giving a new turn to the passage, and refining the blunder into sense ||.

* Goodall, ii. 355. † Ibid. i. 143. ‡ Sect. 13.

|| This was also one of Mr. Goodall's arguments, i. 95—96.

But we have here another contradiction to the former part of the letter. Mary before “inquiryt
 “him,—yat he was angrie with sum of the lordis,
 “and wald *threittin thame*: HE DENYIS that, and
 “says *he luifis thame all*, and prayis me to give
 “traist to nathing aganis him.” Yet now it appears, that Mary believes, and Darnly does not deny, he *had* threatened them *much*; even *so* much, that they would be alarmed with any prospect of union betwixt him and the Queen. This is a plain contradiction.

But let me go on to observe, that this threatening, thus mentioned twice, is undoubtedly real; and that the alarm sure to be taken by the lords, on a prospect of an union between the King and Queen, was proved to be dreadfully so in the event. The reconciliation took place, in consequence of this sickness and this visit; and the destruction of Darnly followed instantly afterwards. This passage, therefore, becomes very remarkable. It is pregnant with meaning. And it involuntarily betrays the grand secret of the King’s murder.

“we aggreit togidder, he fuld mak thame knaw
 “the lytill compt thay tuke of him (1); and that
 “he counfallit me, not to purchas sum of thame,
 “by him (2). Thay for this caus wald be in
 “jelofy (3), gif at anis (4), without thair know-
 N 3 ledge,

“ ledge, I fuld brek the play set up in the contrair
 “ in thair presence (5).”

“ operam ut intelligerent quám parvi eum æstima-
 “ sent (1); item, quód mihi consulisset, ne gra-
 “ tiam quorundam seorsum a se expeterem (2).
 “ Has ob causas eos in magnâ suspicione futuros
 “ (3), si ego (4) faciem scenæ ad contrariam huic
 “ fabulam instructæ, in præsentia, eis insciis, tur-
 “ barem (5).”

“ qu'il pourroit donner ordre, qu'ils entendraient
 “ combien peu ils l'avoient estimé (1). Item, de
 “ ce qu'il m'avoit conseillé, que je ne recherchasse
 “ la bonne grace d'aucuns sans luy (2). Et pour
 “ ces raisons qu'ils feroient en grand soupçon (3),
 “ si (4) je troubloye ainsi maintenant la face du
 “ theatre, qui avoit esté appresté pour jouer une
 “ autre fable (5).”

(1) Such threats, no doubt, Darnly had thrown out; and they would serve to hasten his fate. The design of the letter-writer in mentioning them, seems to be this; that Darnly's character should be raised, as it stands opposed to the Queen's, but kept down in its real state, as it sets itself against the lords. And, as this was a very natural mode of acting in a forgery made by those very lords, and seems peculiarly apparent here; so will it account for the great opening, which is here given us, into the causes of the King's murder. Where two such purposes were to be prosecuted at once, one of them was sure to injure the other, and some truths to be betrayed betwixt them.

(2) This

(2) This counsel was probably true also. But it could only have been true, just after the murder of Rizzio; when the Queen pardoned Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, &c. These she “purchased” over to her side, by a pardon for all their treasons, a permission to continue in the country notwithstanding their exile, and a re-instatement in offices of trust and authority about her. Accordingly, that gaunt and grim assassin Ruthven, in his own cool account of the murder of Rizzio, represents the King as declaring “to the Queen’s majesty, that he had sent for the lords to return again; whereunto she answered, that she was not to blame that they were so long away, for she could be content to have them home at any time, *but for angring him*; and to verify the same, when the Queen gave remission to the Duke, *he was miscontented there-with* *.” And the allusion in January 1567 to a fact that happened the March preceding, as if it had very recently happened, and was still a strong ground for jealousy; is a full proof of the forgery. — “Sum of thame,” Scotch; “quorundam,” Latin, for *quorundam de iis*; “d’aucuns,” French. And the use of the word “by” appears very singular to us; “seorsum a se,” Latin; “sans luy,” French: but was common in the Scotch at that time †.

(3) “For this caus,” Scotch; “has ob causas,” Latin; “pour ces raisons” French: “in jelosy,” Scotch; “in *magna* suspicione,” Latin; “en *grand* soupcon,” French.

* Keith, App. 125.

† See Goodall, ii. 287, 315, 319.

(4) “At anis,” Scotch, omitted in the Latin and French.

(5) “In thair presence,” Scotch; “in præsentia,” for *in eorum præsentia*, Latin; and so rendered, as *in præsentia* properly signifies, “maintenant,” French. “Without thair knowledge,” Scotch; “eis insciis,” Latin; omitted in French. And “I fuld brek the play set up in the contrair,” Scotch, is very well translated into Latin thus, “ego faciem scenæ ad contrariam huic fabulam instructæ—turbarem;” and very closely copied by the French, “je troubloye—la face du theatre, qui avoit esté appresté pour jouër une autre fable.”

This passage implies the King and Queen, to have agreed at the meeting; that their reconciliation should not be shewn to the world at present, for fear of incensing the lords, Murray mentioned before, and others, who were equally ministers to Mary and enemies to Darnly. Yet such an implication is contrary at once to the truth of history, and to the general design of the author. History shews the reconciliation to have taken place; and the most striking proofs of it to have been given, in the Queen’s offices of tenderness about him. And the design of the author is, to make those offices appear all insidious, the result of adultery, and the leaders to murder. Dr. Robertson accordingly tells us, that “she not only visited Henry, but by all her words and actions endeavoured to express an *uncommon affection* for him.” Yet all this was hypocrisy, he says. For “two [he
“should

“ should have said, four] of her famous letters to
 “ Bothwell, were written during her stay at Glas-
 “ gow, and fully lay open this scene of iniquity*.”
 With such gross disingenuity does the Doctor act,
 concerning the letters. When they contradict
 history, he does not follow them, but *he still be-
 lieves them to be genuine.* He shews he *observes* the
 contradiction. Yet he *retains his implicit faith*
in them. His judgment is not warped. But his
 probity is corrupted.

XXVII.—“ He said verrey joyfully, And think
 “ zow thay will esteeme zow the mair of that?
 “ Bot I am verrey glaid that ze speik to me of the
 “ lordis; for (1) I beleve at this tyme ze desyre,
 “ that we fuld leif togidder, in quyetnes (2): for
 “ gif it were utherwyse, greiter inconvenience
 “ micht come to us baith than we ar war of (3):
 “ bot now I will do quhat ever ze will do, and
 “ will lufe all that ze lufe (4); and desyris zow to
 “ mak thame lufe in lyke manner: for, sen thay
 “ seik not my lyfe (5), I lufe tham all equallie,
 “ Upon yis point (6), this”

XXVII.—“ Tum ille vehementer lætus subjecit,
 “ Et tu putas-ne quód pluris illi te æstimabunt ob
 “ hanc causam? Sed valdé gaudeo quód sermonem

* Hist. i. 396—397.

“ de proceribus iniecisti; nunc quidem (1) credo
 “ te cupere, ut unâ concorditer vivamus (2): nam
 “ ni ita effet, majora quâm uterque timemus in-
 “ commoda utrique possent evenire (3): sed nunc,
 “ quod tu vis volo, et quod amabis amabo (4); et
 “ cupio ut eorum similiter concilies amorem: quia,
 “ postquam non petunt vitam meam (5), omnes
 “ amo ex æquo. Circa hoc caput (6),”

XXVII.—“ Alors estant grandement joyeux, il
 “ adjousta, Et pensez-vous que pour cela ils vous
 “ en estiment d'avantage? Mais je suis bien aise
 “ que vous avez fait mention des seigneurs; main-
 “ tenant (1) je croye, que vous desirez que nous
 “ vivions ensemblement en paix (2); car s'il estoit
 “ ainsi, beaucoup plus grandes fâcheries nous
 “ pourroient advenir a tous deux, que nous ne
 “ craignons (3); mais a present je veux ce que
 “ vous voulez, et aimeray ce que vous aimerez (4);
 “ et desire que pareillement vous acqueriez leur
 “ amitié: car puis qu'ils ne pourchassent a m'oster
 “ la vie (5), je les aime tous esgalement. Tou-
 “ chant ce chef (6), le”

(1) “ For—at this tyme,” Scotch; “ *nunc qui-*
 “ dem,” Latin; “ *maintenant*,” French.

(2) This, so far as it intimates that the separa-
 tion of the King and Queen was occasioned by her,
 and not by him; I have already shewn to be con-
 trary to fact, and consequently to be an evidence
 of the forgery. Dr. Robertson also acknowledges,
 that

that the separation was occasioned by his absenting himself from court. He informs us, that “ Henry
 “ sometimes attended at court *,” that he and the
 Queen “ passed two nights together †,” and that he
 “ soon after took a resolution, equally wild and des-
 “ perate, of embarking on board a ship, which he
 “ provided, and of flying into foreign parts ‡;”
 that he afterwards “ refused to accompany the
 “ Queen from Stirling to Edinburgh,” and was
 “ absent from court §;” and that, in short, “ by his
 “ folly and ingratitude he lost the heart of a woman,
 “ who doated on him ||.” But let us particularly
 see his account of the King’s behaviour, on his re-
 turn to court the 29th of September 1566. “ He ar-
 “ rived there,” he adds, “ on the same day she re-
 “ ceived the account of his intended flight. But he
 “ was more than usually wayward and peevish; and
 “ scrupling to enter the palace, unless certain lords
 “ who attended the Queen were dismissed, Mary
 “ was obliged to meet him without the gates. At
 “ last he suffered her, to conduct him into her own
 “ apartment. She endeavoured to draw from him
 “ the reasons, of the strange resolution which he had
 “ taken; and to divert him from it. In spite, how-
 “ ever, of all her arguments and intreaties, he re-
 “ mained silent and inflexible. Next day the
 “ privy council, by her direction, expostulated with
 “ him on the same head. He persisted, notwith-
 “ standing, in his fullness and obstinacy; and

* Hist. i. 372.

† i. 373.

‡ i. 375.

§ Ibid.

|| i. 400.

“ neither

“ neither deigned to explain the motives of his
 “ conduct, nor signified any intention of altering it.
 “ As he left the apartment, he turned towards the
 “ Queen, and told her that she should not see his
 “ face again for a long time *.” This last account
 is *instar omnium*, in shewing to which side the separation is to be attributed. The Doctor indeed has not done Mary full justice, because he has suppressed *her taking him by the hand* in the council, *her double address* to him, the *address of the lords*, the *address of the French embassadour*, the *declaration of Darnly* that he had had no reasons given him for such a resolution, and *his instantly walking out of the council-chamber*; which are circumstances of great moment, in this transaction. His suppression of these, must reflect much upon his integrity, as an historian. But he has said enough to convict Darnly, as the most unreasonable of all unreasonable husbands. And his so plainly attributing the separation to Darnly, when the letters attribute it to Mary; and yet his adherence to the authenticity of those letters, when they contain acknowledged falsehoods; form one of those glaring contrarieties of conduct, which are too common indeed in life, but which always denote the conflicts of principle with passion, and betray the shameful victories that the latter occasionally obtains over the former.

(3) This tells us an important truth, which is plain upon the face of the history; that Murray, and his accomplices, took advantage of the King's

* i. 375—376.

froward behaviour to the Queen, and endeavoured to prosecute their own purposes by the aid of it.

(4) This implies, that the King *bad* acted frowardly before, and so far is inconsistent with various passages preceding. That he had, let us be once more shewn, and from a new authority, and from one that was peculiarly hostile to Mary. “All honour,” says Randolph to Leicester, in a letter of July 30th 1565, the very day after the marriage, “that may be attributed unto any man by a wife; he hath it wholly and fully. All praise that may be spoken of him, he lacketh not from herself. All dignities that she can endow him with, are already given and granted. No man pleaseth her, that contenteth not him. And what may I say more? She hath given over unto him her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himself best liketh.” Yet, notwithstanding all this kindness, “*she can so much prevail with him, in any thing that is against his will; as your lordship may with me, to perswade that I should hang myself*.*”

“Quod amabis amabo” Latin, is intimated by Mr. Goodall †, and agreed to by Miscellaneous Remarker ‡, to be the printer’s or copier’s error of *quod* for *quos*; and yet to have been followed, says

* Goodall, i. 222. and Robertson, ii. 347.—This letter is dated “the last day of July;” but from the mention of “this day, Monday,” appears to have been written on the 30th.

† i. 96.

‡ P. 10.

the latter, "with his wonted fervility" by the Frenchman, in his "*j'aimeray ce que vous aimerez.*" And the reason assigned for their opinion, is the immediate appearance of "*eorum.*" But the observation is more nice than just. "I will do *quhat ever* ze will do, and lufe *all that* ze lufe," Scotch, is naturally and properly rendered, "*Quod tu vis volo, et quod amabis amabo,*" and "*je veux ce que vous voulez, et aimeray ce que vous aimerez.*" Nor does "*eorum,*" Latin, and "*leur,*" French, follow more strangely afterwards, than "*thame,*" Scotch. And it is the very impertinence of criticism, to think of reducing such a composition as this, to the precisest rules of language.

(5) This forms one of the various hints in the letter, that some of Mary's ministers were plotting against the life of Darnly. We are very sure that this is true, by the legal proofs against Bothwell and Morton; and by that which is paramount to all legal proofs, the full and strong voice of facts against Murray and Lethington. But how the letter-writer could be so absurd as to mention it, is surprizing. Yet the truth *would* intrude upon him, it is plain from this and other instances, and mingle with his mass of fiction. Thus, in the present letter, Mynto told him, that some of the council had brought an order to Mary for her signature, to send Darnly to prison, and to slay him if he made resistance. Thus also he says afterwards, that Mary refused to subscribe this order; and that, as to the others who wanted to pursue his life, he would
sell

fell it at a dear rate to them. Thus again, he intimates Murray to have told a great falshood of him; and she speaks of the threats which he had thrown out against the lords, that, if ever he and she became reconciled, he should make them suffer for the slights which they had put upon him. And now he himself hints again, that they had been seeking his life. A train of plots had been formed against him, and by Murray probably; the engaging him in the murder of Rizzio, the plan of a divorce, the poison perhaps administered to him, and this order for his commitment, though never presented to Mary. “O good pitiful men,” says the Bishop of Ross, with a pointed sneer at Murray and Murray’s associates, pretending to take up the cause of the murdered King; “who for the very tender love
 “and singuler affection, which you did ever beare
 “to the L. Darley (the which truly was so vehement, that, for your exceeding hot and fervent
 “love towards him, *ye ever sought his hart’s blood*),
 “do now so pitifully bewaile him *!”

(6) “Upon yis point,” Scotch; “circa hoc caput,” Latin; “touchant ce chef,” French.

“beirer will schaw zow mony small thingis; becaus
 “I have over mekle to wryte, and it is lait (1). I
 “give traist unto him upon zour word (2). Summa,
 “he will ga upon my word to all places (3).

* Defence, 25.

XXVIII.—“ Alace! I never diffavit ony body ;
 “ bot I remit me altogidder to zour will (4). Send
 “ me advertifement quhat I fall do; and quhatfaever
 “ thing fall cum thairof, I fall obey zow (5). Ad-
 “ vife tó with zourself, gif ze can find out ony
 “ mair fecret inventioun by medicine (6); for he
 “ fuld tak medicine”

“ hic tabellarius multa minuta tibi declarabit; quia
 “ nimis multa superfunt fcribenda, et jam ferum
 “ eft (1). Huic adhibebis fidem juxta tuum ver-
 “ bum (2). Breviter, meo juffu quóvis ibit (3).

XXVIII.—“ Hei mihi! nunquam quenquam
 “ decepi; fed ego me in univerfum tuæ voluntati
 “ fubjicio (4). Fac me certiozem quid faciam; et
 “ quicumque fequatur eventus, tibi obfequar (5).
 “ Etiam tecum perpende, an comminifci queas ali-
 “ quam occultiozem rationem per medicinam (6);”

“ porteur vous recitera plufieurs particularitez;
 “ d'autant qu'il y a trop de chofes qui reftent a ef-
 “ crire, et qu'il eft defia tard (1). Vous adjoufterez
 “ foy felon voftre parole (2). En fomme, il ira ou
 “ vous voudrez par mon commandement (3).”

XXVIII.—“ Helas! je n'ay jamais trompé per-
 “ fonne; mais je me fubmets en toutes chofes a
 “ voftre volonté (4). Faiâtes moy fçavoir ce que
 “ je doy faire; et quoy qu'il en puiſſe advenir je
 “ vous obeiray (5). Et penſez en vous meſme, fi
 “ pouvez trouver quelque moyen plus couvert que
 “ par breuvage (6);”

(1) This

(1) This shews the second half of the letter, to be written in the night of the second day after the arrival, January 25th.

(2) This is also one of the noted instances, by which Mr. Goodall discovered the unknown original of the letters, in that disguise of a translation, which it had now worn unobserved for nearly two hundred years; and pointed it out decisively, to the reason of all mankind. "Paris had been an old servant to the Earl of Bothwell, and had lately been taken into the Queen's service." She therefore says, that she trusted him upon the earl's recommendation. But Buchanan overlooking the pronoun of the first person, he necessarily translated the sentence, "*huic adhibebis fidem juxta tuum verbum;*" and the French translator, having no other original but the Latin, followed it closely, "*vous adjousterez foy selon vostre parole* *." This adds one more, to the many instances that we have already had, of the wonderful negligence, with which Buchanan made his translation. The same took place, no doubt, in forming the original Scotch. We have even seen some astonishing proofs of it, in the contradictoriness of parts to parts. And in this manner was cooked up that celebrated composition, which the faction and folly of succeeding times, was to raise into consequence, to exalt into authenticity, and to engraft upon the stock of history.

* Goodall, i. 89—90.

(3) "He will ga upon my word to all places," Scotch; "*meo jussu quóvis ibit*," Latin; and, "*il ira ou vous voudrez par mon commandement*," French; the Frenchman mistaking "*quóvis*" for *quo vis*. This was another of Mr. Goodall's decisive proofs *."

(4) This is a third touch of remorse. But it is more ridiculous, than either of the two before. It is shorter. It goes off sooner into iniquity again. And it acts in opposition to every principle of nature, in representing one, who is expressly declared to have "*never dissav'd ony body*" before, as deceiving Darnly in the highest manner, as mounting at once to the very height of hypocrisy, and becoming by one exertion a very prodigy of malignity.

(5) What does this mean? Did not the Mary of the forgers know full well what she was to do, when she went to Glasgow? If she did not, why did the forgers write this letter? But this very letter shews, that she came to Glasgow in order to draw him to Edinburgh. So the commissioners of York understood it, as I have noticed before; when they said in their account of it to Elizabeth, that "*she toke her journey from Edinburghe to Glasco, to visite him [the King], being theare sicke, and purposely of intent to bring him with her to Edenburghe.*" And this they notice, as they tell us themselves, "*for the declaration of the conspiracie, and her procurement and consent to the murder of her said hus-*

* i. 96—97.

"band."

“band.*” But is not her *particular* intention very plain? It is. “I answerit,” she says, “that
 “I wald tak him with me to Craigmillar, quhair
 “the mediciner and I micht help him, and not be
 “far from my sone.” “Bot he hes prayit me,” she adds in another place, “to remane upon him
 “quhil uther morne.” And in the next letter she subjoins thus: “howbeit I have na farther newis
 “from zow, according to my COMMISSIOUN I bring
 “the man with me to Craigmillar, upon Monoun-
 “day.” She therefore had her commission, before she set out. And these repeated calls for directions, are mere impertinence; the oftensible reasons for writing the letter, but in direct contradiction to the design and contents of it.

(6) This is a very remarkable passage. It carries a murderous tendency in the very tone of it. And it is accordingly pointed out twice to Elizabeth, by her commissioners at York †. But how are we to understand it? The word *by* we have just seen to signify, not *with*, but *without*. Does it so signify here? The authority of Buchanan is, that it *does*, and—that it *does not*. This is extraordinary. From a *written* copy of his Detection, which is thought to be the very copy that he presented to Elizabeth; he appears to have originally translated the words, “occultio^rem rationem *quám* per medicinam.” The French remains accordingly at present, “moyen plus couvert *que* par breuvage.” But he afterwards altered his version, leaving out

* Appendix, N^o vi.† Ibid. N^o vi. and vii.

the word *quám*; and so making the whole to stand as it does now, “occultio^rem rationem per medicinam.” He did this likewise in a passage of his Detection itself, in which he quoted the letters. And there he reasoned slanderously against Mary, upon the credit of his *new* version*.

This exhibits Buchanan to us in a singular view, correcting his own Latin version in the interval, between writing out a copy for the eager curiosity of Elizabeth, and publishing it in print to the world. This also proves the French version to have been made, not from the printed copy, but from the MS; not after the publication of the Latin, but before, though the Latin was published about the end of October 1571, and the French in the middle of February afterwards†. I have historically proved the French copy, to have been formed long before the publication of either. But it here appears to have been so, from a slight incident in the language of it; even before the publication of the letters in any language, and when they were merely in MS, in the hands of Elizabeth, or in the hands of Murray. And the French translation was left, by this extraordinary double in the Latin, differing from it even where it had adhered to it; the corrected Latin here following Buchanan’s closely, even when Buchanan himself had deserted it.

Which then are we to follow, the original, or the corrected, Buchanan? If we consider the words,

* Goodall, i. 326—327; Detection, xi. 51, Anderson, ii. and Jebb, i. 255.

† Goodall, i. 37—38.

“ ony mair secreit inventioun *by* medicine,” to mean *without* medicine; then the passage must be supposed to intimate, that the King had been poisoned already in some medicine, and that the next attempt should be without the use of medicine, and in a way which would not shew itself so openly. But if we consider the words as they sound to *our* ears; then Bothwell is desired to think of some mode of dispatching the King, that should be more secret than that of gun-powder, and that might be given him in his physick. Mr. Goodall adopts the former sense; “ for the words,—in the Scots “ language in Buchanan’s days, signified *without* “ *medicine**.” But the commissioners of England plainly took them in the latter†. Buchanan himself also, upon revival, took them in this view. And the context plainly confines them to this. “ Advise “ with yourself,” it says, “ gif ze can find out ony “ mair secreit inventioun,” than what had been already projected, “ by medicine; FOR *he suld tak medicine* and the bath at Craigmillar, he may not “ cum furth of the house this long tyme.”

But why was this hint, concerning poisoning him in his medicines, thrown out? No calumny was ever started by the rebels, of Mary’s attempting to poison him *posteriously to this period*. It was thrown out therefore, to give the stronger credit to their slander, of her *having poisoned him before*. Yet it wholly refutes it. If poison was *now* to be tried by her and Bothwell, it had not been tried

* i. 326—327.

† Appendix, N° vi. and vii.

before by them. And the passage preceding, that hints at his *having been* poisoned by them, is as much opposed to this, which insinuates that he *was to be* poisoned; as it is to the other, which intimates that he was *not* poisoned, but poxed. So strangely contradictory is the letter to itself!

“ and the bath at Craigmillar. He may not cum
“ furth of the hous this lang tyme (1).”

“ sumpturus est enim et medicinam et balneum ad
“ Cragmillarium. Non potest domo egredi ad mul-
“ tos dies (1).”

“ car il doit prendre médecine et estre baigné a
“ Cragmillar. Il ne peut sortir du logis d'icy a
“ plusieurs jours (1).”

(1) The meaning of the words “ he may not cum furth of the hous this lang tyme,” is this; that the King cannot leave his confinement, and mingle with the world again, for a long time. But the Frenchman, restraining the meaning to the King's house at Glasgou, says he cannot leave *that*, “ d'icy,” for a long time. He left *that* two days afterwards. But he was confined to his house at Kirk-a-field, for many afterwards.

This being noticed, let me here ask, What was Mary's view, in the opinion of her slanderers, for bringing Darnly to Edinborough? The vulgar
herd

herd have always supposed it to be, in order to murder him there. With this the letters agree. And murdered he certainly was, in a few days after she brought him to Edinborough. But Dr. Robertson has found out a better reason. It was *to prevent his going abroad*. “She was assured, that
 “ he resolved instantly to leave the kingdom; that
 “ a vessel was hired for the purpose, and lay in the
 “ river Clyde ready to receive him, Keith, Pref.
 “ viii.” This “was what Mary *chiefly* dreaded.—
 “ While he resided at Glasgow, he might with
 “ more facility accomplish his designs. In order,
 “ therefore, to prevent his executing any such wild
 “ scheme; it was necessary to bring him to some
 “ place, where he would be more immediately un-
 “ der her own eye*.” This is a passage, astonish-
 ingly replete with folly. The design of going
 abroad, I have already shewn to have existed long
 before. The very author whom he cites for it,
 Keith, proves it plainly; though not in the place to
 which he refers, “Pref. viii,” but in Hist. 345—
 351. The very intelligence referred to in Keith,
 was received by Mary so long ago as September
 29th, very nearly FOUR months before. Nay Dr.
 Robertson has even acquainted us with it before;
 telling us, that “soon after” Darnly’s writing to
 the Pope, &c.” he took a resolution equally wild
 “ and desperate, of embarking on board a ship,
 “ *which he provided*, and of flying into foreign
 “ parts†.” This was in September. He had

* Hist. i. 398—399.

† Ibid. 375.

therefore provided a ship in September. Had he also in January? He had, according to Dr. Robertson. Yet it is one and the same ship, provided at one and the same time; though the Dr. has so strangely split it into two. He refers to Keith for his January vessel. But this is the same vessel, that was provided in September. “He communicated the design,” says Dr. Robertson, “to the French ambassador Le Croc, and to his father the Earl of Lenox.—Lenox instantly communicated the matter to her [the Queen] by a letter. —Henry arrived there [at court], on the same day she received the account*.” This, Le Croc himself assures us, was on September 29th †. But the Dr. has, with more judgment than integrity, suppressed all the dates and some circumstances; particularly one which appeared from Lenox’s letter, than *then* “he had a ship lying ready to sail,” or, as the privy council expresses this part of the letter, “he had *just then* a ship lying ready;” in order to give himself the liberty, with a better air, of producing the intelligence again at a new period, and with a new gloss upon it. He has also suppressed another circumstance, or rather a train of circumstances, which equally appears in Le Croc’s letter; that the latter had since seen the King, that he had used every argument which he could think of, to dissuade him from his project, that now he believed the King would not go, and that he had acquainted the Queen with the whole ‡. This, if

* Hist. i. 375.

† Keith, 346.

‡ Ibid. 347.

noticed,

noticed, would have precluded his re-mention of the project and the ship; and was therefore kept under cover. He chose to follow Buchanan and slander, even when he had Le Croc and the truth before him. Buchanan (as I have previously noticed) has just made the same anachronism, for *he* also has engrafted history upon the letters; and so brought down what happened in September, to the January following. “Ibi,” at Holyrood-house, “cúm rescitum esset,” he says, “Regem convalescere, ac vim veneni ætatis vigore et corporis firmitate naturali superatam; novum de eo tollendo consilium initur: cúm interea ad Reginam delatum esset, Regem de fugâ in Galliam aut Hispaniam cogitare, eâque de re cum Anglis, qui navem in æstuario Glottæ stantem habebant, collocutum;—consulunt omnes festinandum, antequam plané convalesceret*.” This was plainly the authority, upon which Dr. Robertson proceeded; though he formally refers to Keith. *That* coincides with him. *This* is directly against him. Only the Doctor has enhanced the wilful misrepresentation of Buchanan, by giving us the truth (in part at least) before, and then giving us the falsehood afterwards. And he has also heightened the absurdity of all, by assigning such a boyish reason for Mary’s drawing Darnly from Glasgow, That he might not embark there.

On the 30th of September, Darnly went out of the council-chamber, and told the Queen, that she

* Hist. xviii. 359.

should not see his face again for a long time. After this, says the council, “ by a letter which
“ the King has since wrote to the Queen in
“ a sort of disguised stile, it appears that he still has
“ it in his head, to leave the kingdom; and there
“ is advertisement otherwise, that he is secretly
“ preparing to be gone*.” Le Croc also adds thus:
“ he is not yet embarked; but *we* receive adver-
“ tisement from day to day, that he still holds on
“ his resolution, and keeps a ship in readiness.” Yet all this time Mary never goes to *him*, when he was gone from *her*; and never tries to bring him back to Edinburgh, though he was then at Glasgow, at that very port so formidable to Mary, and so close to his ready-prepared vessel. Then Darnly sent to Le Croc, to confer with him. “ The King,
“ who had gone to Glasgow,” says Le Croc, “ sent
“ me word to come and meet him half way, be-
“ twixt Lisleburgh and Glasgow. I obeyed
“ him; and found his father, the Earl of Lenox,
“ with him. We had much communing toge-
“ ther; and I remonstrated to him every thing that
“ I could think of: and now I believe he will not
“ go out of the kingdom, though I can perceive,
“ that he still entertains some displeasure†.” Mary still went not to him at Glasgow, to draw him from thence. She even went another way, towards Berwick. And, while he was holding his conference with Le Croc, she was residing at Jedburgh.

* Keith, 349—350.

† Ibid. 347.

I am surprized, however, at the representation of this wild project in all our historians. It is considered by them as a serious one. But it appears to me nothing more than a feint; a low act of cunning to extort the matrimonial crown from Mary, by the fear of his going abroad. Hence Lenox went to him at Stirling, *immediately on the Queen's short absence*. Hence he himself came back to Holyrood-house, *the very evening* of the day, on which she had received *his father's letter of intelligence concerning it*. Hence he would not, because he could not, tell her, either in private or in publick, the *grounds* of his intended departure. Hence he went out of the council-chamber so abruptly in his manner, and with so rude a menace on his lips, that she should not see his face again for a long time. Hence he wrote the letter to her afterwards "in a sort of disguised stile," intimating his resolution to go. Hence she received advertisements from day to day, of his intending to go, and of his preparing to depart. And hence also, when he and his counselling father found, that the Queen so little heeded his intentions, as never to attempt to stop him, to draw him from the port and the vessel, and to secure him "immediately under her own eye" at Edinburgh; as even to leave him to the execution of his own devices; and even to give him still greater opportunity for it, by her still greater distance from him: then, then, his father and he sought a conference with Le Croc; he wanted to be dissuaded, from what he had never intended in earnest; and he suffered himself at last to be brought,

brought apparently, very near to a conviction. Accordingly I find the whole privy-council of Scotland at the time, concurring with me in this idea; though it has been so little attended to, by our historians. After a full narration of all that passed at the council-table, on September the 30th; they speak of the King's departure, and say: "so that
" we were *all* of opinion, that this was but *a false*
" *alarm*, the Earl of Lenox was *willing* to give her
" Majesty *."

Yet, more than three months after this, Buchanan and Dr. Robertson; and the latter with a spirit (I fear), that would have made him half a Buchanan in times less civilized, and less inquisitive, than the present; represent Darnly, as still persisting in his project, and as persisting in it, even when he was reduced by sickness to the utmost extremity of weakness. And Dr. Robertson adds to all, by describing the Queen, who had never gone near the King from the day of his departure to Glasgow, September 30th, till nearly the end of January following; who had particularly not gone all the time, that she received *daily* intelligence of his preparing to embark: as now going, when she received no such intelligence at all; when she had been fully certified above three months before, that in all probability he had given up the design; when the length of time elapsed since, had fully proved that he had; and when his super-added illness rendered it impossible for him to go, for

* Keith, 349.

some time to come. But it is hardly worth the labour, to discredit such impertinencies as these. Only they serve to shew the imposition, that has been put upon the publick; when histories, so little founded on truth, and so little conducted by judgment, have taken advantage of the factious madness of the times, and raised themselves to a high degree of authority among us. Yet I shall just pursue the subject, to shew the Doctor equally contradicting himself and the letters at once.

He has already told us, that Mary drew Darnly from Glasgow to Edinburgh, to prevent him from embarking, and to keep him under her own eye. He tells us however in a few lines afterwards, that this was *not* the design in drawing him, that she meant to *murder* him, and that for this purpose she lodged him in a lonely house at his arrival. “ In order to prevent his executing any such
 “ wild scheme, it was necessary to bring him to
 “ some place, where he would be more immediately
 “ under her own eye. *For this purpose*, she first
 “ employed all her art to regain his confidence, and
 “ then proposed to remove him to the neighbour-
 “ hood of Edinburgh.—The King was weak enough,
 “ to suffer himself to be persuaded” [*not* dissuaded
 from staying at Glasgow, and embarking on board
 a ship, as the chain of ideas requires us to suppose
 at first; but, from a new set of ideas that have here
 started up suddenly in the author’s mind, persuaded
 to go to Edinburgh in order to be murdered];
 “ and was carried—to Edinburgh. The place pre-
 “ pared for his reception was” such, as “ the soli-
 “ tude of the place rendered—*extremely proper, for*
 “ the

*“ the commission of that crime, WITH A VIEW TO
“ WHICH IT SEEMS MANIFESTLY TO HAVE BEEN
“ CHOSEN *.”* What was only an innocent and ridiculous purpose at first, that of preventing Darnly from embarking at Glasgow, as if this was the only port in the kingdom, or as if he could not elope from Edinburgh to Glasgow again; becomes at last a serious and important plan of concerted murder. The transition from the one to the other, is totally unmarked. And, to our astonishment, we find ourselves engaged in a murderous project, when we thought we were only employed in preventing a voyage. So strangely does the Doctor contradict himself! It is no wonder therefore, that he contradicts the letters. They, with as much consistency as such self-repugnant writings can have, intimate the visit to be for drawing Darnly to Edinburgh, in order to be murdered. This is indeed the plan, upon which the Doctor himself has ultimately proceeded. But then the other plan, of preventing the embarkation by keeping him in her own eye; cannot be reconciled with this, or with the letters. In these, as we have already seen, the King is even made expressly to deny, that he ever had any scheme of embarking. This undoubtedly is false in fact. But then this, and the general drift of the letters, concurring together, do doubly and trebly preclude in those who believe the authenticity of the letters; all possibility of supposing, that Mary came to Glasgow in order to prevent the scheme, and to hold him directly under her own inspection. If the scheme never existed,

* i. 399.

it could not be prevented. If she fetched him from Glasgow, in order to murder him; she did not mean to confine him, within the immediate sphere of her own observance. And to Dr. Robertson the argument is decisive. Yet the good Doctor has shewn us in some instances before, and will perhaps shew us in others hereafter; how little he minds the letters at times, though he professes his firm belief of their genuineness. He treats them, as Papists treat their legends. He reveres them in general, as true. Yet he is obliged by the power of truth, to leave them at one time. He is induced by the sollicitations of slander, to desert them at another. He thus treats them repeatedly, as false. And yet he still believes them to be true.

 § III.

LETTER THE FIRST CONTINUED.

XXIX.—“ Summa, be all that I can leirne, he
 “ is in greit fuspicioun (1); and zit, notwithstand-
 “ ing, he gevis credit to my word (2); but zit not
 “ fa far, that he will fchaw ony thing to me (3):
 “ bot nevertheles I fall draw it out of him, gif ze
 “ will that I avow all unto him (4). Bot I will
 “ never rejoyce to diffaiwe ony body, that traiftis in
 “ me: zit, notwithstanding, ze may command me
 “ in all thingis (5). Have na evill opinioun of
 “ me for that caus, be reffoun ze ar the occasion of
 “ it zoursel; becaus, for my awin particular re-
 “ venge, I wald not do it to him.”

XXIX.—“ Breviter, quantum intelligere pos-
 “ sum, in magnâ fuspicione verfatur (1); nihilo
 “ tamen minús magnam habet fidem orationi
 “ meæ (2); nec tamen ufque adeo, ut quicquam
 “ mihi affutiat (3): nihilo minús ego ex eo, liqui-
 “ dem tu vis, omnia apud eum profitear et agnos-
 “ cam (4). Sed nunquam gaudebo in quovis ho-
 “ mine, qui mihi fidit, decipiendo: nihilo minús tu
 “ mihi potes omnibus in rebus imperare (5). Noli
 “ ideo finiftram opinionem de me concipere, quia
 “ tu ipse hujus rei mihi author es; nunquam enim
 “ iftud

“ istud in eum committerem, meæ propriæ ultionis
 “ causâ.”

XXIX.—“ Brief, à ce que j’en puis entendre, il
 “ est en grand soupçon (1); neantmoins il adjouste
 “ beaucoup de foy a ma parole (2); mais non en-
 “ cores tant, qu’il n’en descouvre quelque chose (3):
 “ toutesfois je confesseray et reconnoistra tout de-
 “ vant luy, si vous le trouvez bon (4). Mais si ne
 “ m’esiouiray je jamais a tromper celuy, qui se fie en
 “ moy: neantmoins vous me pouvez commander en
 “ toutes choses (5). Ne concevez donc point de
 “ moy aucune sinistre opinion, puis que vous-
 “ mesmes estes cause de cela; car je ne le feroye ja-
 “ mais contre luy, pour ma vengeance particuliere.”

(1) The “*greit* suspicioun” of this passage is directly contrary to another before, in which the King himself says, that “*he suspectit na body, nor
 “ zit wald not.*”

(2) His “*suspicioun*” cannot be “*greit*,” when “*he gevis credit to her word;*” “*magnam fidem,*” says the Latin, and “*beaucoup de foy,*” says the French.

(3) *He is in great suspicion, yet he believes her word, and yet he will not shew her any thing.* These are three clauses, following successively in order, and contradicting one the other.

(4) What did Mary want Darnly to shew her, even upon the plan of the letters? *Nothing surely.* What then was she to draw out of him? *Nothing surely.* And what is the *all*, that she asks Bothwell’s

leave to avow to him? *Nothing surely.*—"Draw it
 "out of him," Scotch; "ex eo," Latin, *exculpam*
 or *expiscabor* being omitted by the pen or press;
 and all therefore being omitted by the French.
 This was one of Mr. Goodall's famous proofs*.
 "Avow," Scotch; "profitear et agnoscam,"
 Latin; and "confesseray et recongnoistray,"
 French.

(5) These fits of remorse are so petty and so
 frequent, that they appear plainly to be *acted*.

XXX.—"He gives me sum chekis of yat
 "quhilk I fear, zea, evin in the quick (1). He
 "sayis this far, yat his faults wer publeist (2):
 "bot yair is that committis faultis, that belevis
 "thay will never be spokin of (3); and zit thay
 "will speik of greit and small (4). As towart the
 "Lady Reres (5), he said, I pray God that scho
 "may serve zow for zour honour: and said, it is
 "thocht,"

XXX.—"Interim me attingit in loco suspecto;
 "idque ad vivum (1) haftenus proloquutus est,
 "sua crimina esse palam (2): sed sunt qui majora
 "committant, et opinantur ea silentio tegi (3); et
 "tamen homines de magnis juxta ac parvis lo-
 "quuntur (4). D. Reresia ait (5), Deum precor,

“ ut officia quæ tibi præstat sint tibi honori: ait
 “ etiam quosdam credere,”

XXX.—“ Cependant il m’a donné atteinte du
 “ lieu suspect; et a jusques icy discouru bien au
 “ vif (1), que ses fautes sont congneües (2): mais
 “ qu’il y en a qui en commettent de plus grandes,
 “ encores qu’ils estiment qu’elles soient cachées
 “ par silence (3); et toutesfois que les hommes
 “ parlent des grands aussi bien que de petits (4).
 “ Quant a Reres (5), il dit, Je prie Dieu que
 “ les services qu’elle vous fait, vous soient a
 “ honneur:”

(1) This means the adultery. Concerning this, he gave her (she says) some pointed strokes. “ For
 “ certanetie,” she says almost immediately afterwards, “ he suspectis of the thing ze knaw,” the adultery, “ and of his lyfe: bot as to the *last*,
 “ how sone that I spak twa or thré gude wordis
 “ unto him, he rejoyfis, and is out of dout.” As to the adultery therefore, he still suspected; and so gave her some severe checks about it. Yet how is this to be reconciled, with other passages? Had he suspected the adultery; had he even so strongly suspected it, as to intimate his suspicions to her, and touch her to the very quick about it; could he have been imposed upon by her, as the whole tenour of the letter implies he was? Accordingly, Dr. Robertson represents him as unsuspecting and credulous. “ This,” her kindness, “ made impression on the credulous spirit of her husband.”

She “first employed all her art to regain his confidence, and then proposed to remove him to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh;” though the proposal appears before, to have been made *the very evening of her arrival, and very early in the conversation then.* And “the King was weak enough, to suffer himself to be persuaded *.”—“Interim,” Latin, and “cependant,” French, are both added to the Scotch.

(2) The Latin not placing the full stop at “vivum,” the French has altered the sense materially. “Publeist,” Scotch; “palam,” Latin, instead of *publicata*; and so “congneües,” French, instead of *publié*.

(3) “Is, committis, belevis,” Scotch; “sunt qui committant, et opinantur,” Latin; “com-mettent, estiment,” French. “Faultis,” Scotch; “majora,” Latin; and “plus grandes,” French. “Never be spokin of,” Scotch; “silentio tegi,” Latin; and “cachées par silence,” French.

(4) “Thay,” Scotch; “homines,” Latin; and “les hommes,” French.

(5) The Latin leaves out *de* before “D. Reresia.” But the French preserves it, reading the initial letter for *Domina* into *de*, “quant a Reres,” and so omitting *mademoiselle*.

* i. 396 and 399.

“ and he belevis it to be trew, that I have not the
 “ power of myself into myself, and that becaus of
 “ the refuse I maid of his offeris (1). Summa,
 “ for certanetie he suspectis of the thing ze knaw,
 “ and of his lyfe (2). Bot as to the last, how sone
 “ that I spak twa or thré gude wordis unto him,
 “ he rejoyfis, and is out of dout (3).

XXXI.—“ I saw him not this evening, for to
 “ end zour bracelet (4); to the quhilk I can get
 “ na lokkis (5). It is reddy to thame (6); and
 “ zit I feir that it will”

“ ac se id verum existimare, me non habere potes-
 “ tatem mei intra me, idque quia recusaverim
 “ conditiones a se oblatas (1). Breviter, certum
 “ est quód de eo quod scis suspicetur, ac de vitâ
 “ etiam (2). Quod ad posterius, cûm primûm
 “ ego duobus aut tribus bonis verbis eum compello,
 “ gaudet, ac timere desinit (3).

XXXI.—“ Non vidi eum hâc vesperâ, quia
 “ tuam armillam conficiebam (4); cui nullam pos-
 “ sum ceram invenire (5). Id enim unum ad per-
 “ fectionem ei deest (6); et adhuc vereor ne aliquod
 “ se offerat infortunium, et”

“ il dit aussi, qu'il y en a qui croient, et que de sa
 “ part il l'estime veritable, que je n'ay point en

“ moy la puissance de moy-mesme, d'autant que
 “ j'ay refusé les conditions qu'il avoit offertes (1).
 “ Brief, il est certain qu'il se doute de ce que sca-
 “ vez, et de sa vie mesmes (2). Quant au reste,
 “ soudain que je luy propose deux ou trois bonnes
 “ paroles, il se resjouit, et n'a point de crainte (3).

XXXI.—“ Je ne l'ay point veu ceste apres-
 “ disnée, parce que je faisoie vostre brasselet (4);
 “ auquel je ne puis accomoder de la cire (5).
 “ Car c'est ce qui defaut a sa perfection (6); et
 “ encor je crain qu'il n'y survienne quelque incon-
 “ venient,”

(1) That he made no such offers as are here hinted at, has been already shewn. Dr. Robertson himself does not pretend, that he did. And yet *the letters are genuine*.—“ Offeris,” Scotch; “ conditiones oblatas,” Latin; “ conditions offertes,” French.

(2) “ *His life,*” Scotch; “ *vitâ etiam,*” Latin; “ *sa vie mesmes,*” French, from the corrected Latin.

(3) “ Last,” Scotch; “ *posterius,*” Latin; “ *reste,*” for *postérieur*, French. “ Doubt,” Scotch; “ *timere,*” Latin; “ crainte,” French.

(4) This aggravates the absurdity of the letter, in the conduct of Mary. She is come to see the King in his sickness, and to nurse him. This is acknowledged by all, to have been done by her. Dr. Robertson says, that “ she not only visited
 “ Henry, but, by all her words and actions, endea-
 “ voured

“voured to exprefs an uncommon affection for
 “him*.” Yet, *by the letters*, this is not true.
 She is employed a great part of her time, in ab-
 fences from him. She is writing a very long letter
 to her adulterer. She is making a pair of bracelets
 for him. She could not fit up late with Darnly the
 first night, because she was tired with her journey.
 She could not the second night, because she was
 writing to Bothwell. She could not the third,
 because she was making bracelets for Bothwell.
 And she spent all the morning of this day till two,
 in the same employ. So ridiculously has the letter
 engaged her, on this visit to her sick husband; in
 order to give scope to its own slanders!—“Even-
 “ing,” Scotch; “vespera,” Latin; “apres-
 “disnée,” for *soir*, French.

(5) This is an amazing contradiction to a pre-
 ceding passage, which runs thus: “I wrocht this
 “day quhill it was twa houris upon this bracelet,
 “for to put the key of it within the lock thairof,
 “quhilk is couplit underneth with twa cordounis;
 “I have had sa lytill tyme, that it is evill maid.”
Then the bracelet was “maid,” yet it is *now* to
 be “ended.” *Then* it had a “key” and a “lock”
 to it, but *now* she can get “na lokkis” for it.
Then the “key of it” was “put within the lock
 “thairof,” and “couplit underneth with twa cor-
 “dounis;” but *now* the bracelet is only “reddy to
 “thame.” This is such a gross and massy contra-
 diction, in so plain a point, and at so little a dif-

* i. 396.

tance; as speaks out loudly the infinite negligence of the author, in this work of forgery.—“Lokkis,” Scotch; “ceram,” a mis-print for *seram*, Latin; and yet followed implicitly by the French, in “cire.” This is one of the proofs, which Mr. Goodall used so successfully, for the investigation of the true original *. And surely this, and the other blunders of the French translation, must have given a strange appearance to that pretended original, at its exhibition to the commissioners in Westminster.

(6) “It is reddy to thame,” Scotch; “id enim unum ad perfectionem ei deest,” Latin; and “car c’est ce qui defaut a sa perfection,” French,

“bring some malheur, and may be sene gif ze
 “chance to be hurt (1). Advetise me gif ze will
 “have it (2), and gif ze will have mair silver (3),
 “and quhen I fall retorne (4), and how far I may
 “speik (5). He inragis when he heiris of Le-
 “thingtoun, or of zow, or of my brother (6). Of
 “zour brother (7) he speikis nathing. He speikis
 “of the Erle of Argyle (8). I am in feir quhen
 “I heir him speik; for he assuris himself, yat he
 “[Argyle] has not an evill opinioun,”

“et conspici possit, si te contingat lædi (1). Fac
 “me certiozem num eam velis habere (2), et si

* i. 96.

“pluscu-

“ plusculum pecuniæ velis habere (3), et quando
 “ debeam redire (4), et quem in loquendo modum
 “ mihi statuam (5). Infanit ad mentionem de Le-
 “ thintonio, de te, de fratre meo (6). De tuo
 “ fratre (7) nihil loquitur. De Comite Argathe-
 “ liæ (8) in timore verfor, quóties eum audio lo-
 “ quentem; pro certo habet”

“ et qu’il soit recogneu, s’il advenoit que vous fus-
 “ siez blessé (1). Faictes moy entendre si vous le
 “ voulez avoir (2), et si avez affaire de quelque
 “ peu plus d’argent (3), et quand je doy retourner
 “ (4), et quel ordre je tiendray a parler a luy (5).
 “ Il enrage quand je fay mention de Lethington,
 “ de vous, et de mon frere (6). Il ne parle point
 “ de vostre frere (7). Quant au Conte d’Argath-
 “ ley (8), je suis en crainte, toutes les fois qu’il
 “ en devise;”

(1) When the letters were *first* projected, on the 24th of July 1567; hopes were entertained, of seizing and slaying Bothwell immediately. On the 11th of August 1567, Sir William Murray of Tullibardin, and Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, were commissioned to pursue him by sea and land, with fire and sword*; though one of these very gentlemen, Kirkcaldy, on Mary’s preparing to pass with him to the rebels, upon the fatal 15th of June before, “ *tuik the Erle Boythwell be the hand, and*
 “ *baid him depart, promising that na man should*

* Keith, 442.

“ *follow*

“*folow nor persew him; and swa by thair awin con-*
 “*sented he past away* *.” *For the same reason* now,
 if Bothwell should be taken alive, they had power
 to hold courts, to condemn, and to execute imme-
 diately. Well therefore might it be remarked in
 the Memoirs of Crawford, that “if Grange had
 “taken him, it is more than probable (lest he had
 “betrayed his accomplices) that he had been sa-
 “crificed on the spot †.” Then this pair of brace-
 lets, *so particularly described in the letter*, would have
 been produced as found upon him. And this allusion
 to the expected fact, at once evinces the general
 forgery of the letters; and shews the present part
 of them to have been forged, in the original mo-
 ments of projection. Lethington sat down, it seems,
 while the new ideas were shooting strong in his
 mind; and sketched out some parts of the letters,
 immediately. These sketches he naturally laid be-
 fore him, when he entered upon the completion of
 the work, in the winter following. And he as
 naturally incorporated them all into it; and, in the
 hurry and negligence with which the whole was
 finished, inserted this temporary expectation along
 with the rest.

(2) Here is another contradiction, concerning
 this ill-fated bracelet. Mary now asks Bothwell, *if*
he will have it. She had previously informed him,
 that she should send it to him by the bearer of the
 letter. “I wrocht this day quhill it was twa houris,

* Goodall, ii 164—165.

† Crawford, 54.

“ upon

“ upon *this* bracelet:—I have had sa lytill tyme
 “ that it is evill maid; bot *I sall mak ane fairer*.
 “ In THE MEANE TIME,” &c. All this plainly implies her, to send it with the letter. Yet now, before she closes the letter, she directly contradicts herself, and asks him if she shall send it. And the hint concerning the “evil making,” was thrown in plainly; to account for the inelegance of the work, from so elegant a workwoman as Mary, when the bracelet should come to be produced. We have the same hint, and with the same view, concerning the penmanship of the letters.

(3) This implies, that she had given Bothwell some money before. Accordingly Paris is made to swear, that on the road betwixt Kalendar and Glasgou, and consequently on January 23d, she sent Bothwell a purse with three or four hundred crowns in it *. It has been asked, why she did not give it to Bothwell himself, who left her at Kalendar only that very day †. For this plain reason, that *Paris might carry and tell of it afterwards*. But having given him three or four hundred crowns on the 23d, would she ask him on the 25th if he wanted more? She certainly would not! With such profusion, Mary’s treasury would have been drained to the bottom, in a few days only.—And as I shall shew hereafter ‡, that even the money of January the 23d did not leave Glasgou, till the 26th; and that it then left the city, *along with this very letter*; the total silence in this very letter, of having sent the former, and the actual asking in this very let-

* Goodall, ii. 76. † Keith, 366, and Tytler, 138—139.

‡ See chap. iii. sect. 4.

ter, if Bothwell wanted more, unite together to prove the letter a plain forgery.—“Silver,” Scotch; “pecuniæ,” Latin; “argent,” French. This concurs with other instances to shew, that many coincidences between the French and the Scotch, are purely casual; the result of a similarity between the two languages.

(4) But the return was already fixed. “The King,” she says before, “hes prayit me to remane upon him quhil uther morne.” And at “uther morne,” or on January the 27th, she actually set out. But, even if this had not been the case, what *could* Bothwell advise about the day of her return?—“Quhen I *fall* retorne,” Scotch; “quando *debeam* redire,” Latin; “quand je *doy* retourner,” French,

(5) Concerning *what* does she want to know, how far she may speak? This is like her desire to know, whether she might “avow all” to Bothwell. A mysterious air is thrown round some undiscernible points, in order to lend a consequence to nothing.—“How far I may speik,” Scotch; “quem in loquendo modum mihi statuam,” Latin; “quel ordre je tiendray a parler a luy,” French.

(6) “Or,” Scotch, omitted in Latin; “et,” French, from the corrected Latin. But this shews plainly, who the lords were that he considered as hostile to him. Murray he has even noticed before, as an enemy.

(7) This means Huntly, whose sister had been married to Bothwell.

(8) The

(8) The Latin omitting by accident one word, “De Comite Argatheliæ [loquitur];” the French omits it too, and the two clauses are run into each other in both. “Argatheliæ,” Latin; “Argath-ley,” French; for “Argyle.”

“of him. He speikis nathing of thame that is
 “out (1), nouthur gude nor evill; bot fleis yat
 “point (2). His father keipis his chalmer (2),
 “I have not fene him.

XXXII.—“All the Hammiltounis are heir,
 “that accompanyis me verray honorabilly. All
 “the friendis of the uther [the King] convoyis me,
 “quhen I gang to fé him. He desyris me to cum,
 “and fé him ryse the morne betyme (3). For to
 “mak schort, this beirer will tell zow the rest.
 “And gif I leirne ony thing heir, I will mak zow
 “memoriall at evin (3). He will tell zow the oc-
 “casioun of my remaning (4). Burne this letter,
 “for it is ovir dangerous (5), and nathing weill
 “said in it (6); for I am thinking upon nathing
 “bot fascherie. Gif ze be in Edinburgh”

“eum nihil de se malé opinari. De eis qui extra
 “sunt (1) nihil, neque boni neque mali, loquitur;
 “sed semper hunc locum vitat (2). Pater ejus
 “domi (2) se continet, nondum enim [eum] vidi.

XXXII.—“Omnes Hamiltonii híc adfunt, et
 “me comitantur valdé honorificé. Alterius om-
 “nes

“ nes amici me comitantur quoties eum viso. Petit
 “ a me ut cras temporí adsim, ut eum surgentem
 “ videam (3). Ut paucis absolvam, híc tabella-
 “ ritus reliqua tibi narrabit. Si quid novi híc dif-
 “ cam, vesperi (3) faciam commentarium. Ille
 “ tibi explicabit meæ moræ causam (4). Crema
 “ has literas, sunt enim periculosæ (5), nec quic-
 “ quam bene in eis dictum (6); ego enim nihil
 “ cogito nisi molestias. Si fueris Edinburgi cüm”

“ il s'affeure qu'il ne pense point de mal de luy.
 “ Quant a ceux qui sont de dehors (1), il n'en
 “ parle ny en bien ny en mal; seulement il a évité
 “ tousjours ce lieu (2). Son pere se tient tous-
 “ jours au logis (2), et ne l'ay point encores veu.”

XXXII.—“ Tous les Hambletons sont icy, qui
 “ me font compagnie assez honorable. Tous les
 “ amis de l'autre me suivent lorsque je le visite.
 “ Il me prie, que je voye demain (3) assez a temps
 “ pour le voir lever. Afin que le face court, ce
 “ porteur vous dira le surplus. Si j'appren icy
 “ quelque chose le soir (3), je le mettray en me-
 “ moire. Il vous declarera la cause de mon re-
 “ tardement (4). Bruslez ces lettres, car elles
 “ sont dangereuses (5), et s'il n'y a rien qui soit
 “ bien couché; je ne pense que choses fascheuses
 “ (6). Si vous estes a Edinbourg.”

(1) “ Thame that is out,” means the men that
 had been banished the kingdom, for their share in
 the murder of Rizzio the March before. So Ruth-
 ven calls Murray and his associates in exile, “ the
 “ lords

“ lords which were fugitive*.” So Buchanan, with a nearer approach to the language of the letter, styles them the lords that were absent, “ nobilitas quæ aberat †;” and, with an approach still nearer in another place, denominates them those that are absent, “ absentibus ‡.” So likewise the Earl of Bedford, in a letter of August the 3d 1566, speaks of some of these very rebels in the letter, as those “ who were *abroad* with Morton §.” And this serves, as almost every allusion to known facts has hitherto served, to detect the forgery. With so careless a hand, was this idol of Dr. Robertson’s put together. The banished conspirators had been pardoned and restored, a little while *before* the period of this letter. Upon Christmas Eve preceding, the Queen had granted a pardon to the Earl of Morton and seventy-five of his accomplices, for that horrible fact ||. But the forger, writing the letters in the November and December afterwards, with his usual carelessness confided in his memory, and was deceived by it.

(2) “ Fleis yat point,” Scotch; “ *semper* hunc locum vitat,” Latin; “ il a évité *tousjours* ce lieu,” French. “ Chalmer,” Scotch; “ domi,” Latin; “ logis,” French.

(3) This means the morning and evening of the next day, January 26th.

(4) This is another of the mysterious involutions of nothing, so frequent in this letter. The

* Keith, 332. † Hist. xvii. 344. ‡ Ibid. 345.
§ Goodall, i. 305. || Ibid. i. 321, Robertson, ii. 434,
Keith, 429, Pref. xi, Melville, 76 and 77, and Murdin, 763.

reason of her stay, as she has told us already, was the King's desire. And the reason of his desire, must have been his weakness of body.

(5) What a ridiculous precaution to Bothwell, when she sends this very letter, "ovir dangerous" as it is, *unsealed*, by the hands of Paris!

(6) This is thrown in to account for Mary, the accomplished and the lively Mary, writing such a dull and stupid fardle of folly, under the name of a love-letter. And Buchanan has inflamed the absurdity of the precaution, by asserting it to have been given in almost every one of the letters. "Pené in singulis scriptum erat," he says, either wildly inattentive to the letters, or boldly daring to foist any thing into them, "ut lectæ statim cremarentur*."

" at the ressaie of it (1), send me word sone.

XXXIII.—" Be not offendit, for I gif not ovir
 " greit credite (2). Now seing to obey zow, my
 " deir lufe, I spair nouthur honour, conscience,
 " hasarde, nor greitnes quhatsumevir (3); tak it,
 " I pray zow, in gude part, and not efter the in-
 " terpretatioun of zour fals gude-brother (4), to
 " quhome, I pray zow, gif na credite aganis the
 " maist faithful luifer that evir ze had, or ever fall
 " have.

* Hist. xviii. 364. So Mr. Hume also says, v. 144—145.

XXXIV.—" Sé

XXXIV.—“ Sé not hir, quhais fenzeit teiris
 “ fuld not be sa mekle praisit nör estemit, as the
 “ trew and faithful travellis (5), quhilk I sustene
 “ for to merite hir place : for obteneing of the quhilk,
 “ aganis my natural I betrayis thame that may im-
 “ pesche me (6). God forgive me ; and God
 “ give zow, my only lufe, the hap and prosperitie
 “ (7), quhilk zour humble and faithful lufe desyris
 “ unto zow, quha hopis to be schortly ane uther
 “ thing to zow, for the reward of my irksom
 “ travellis (8).”

“ cüm has accipies (1), fac me certiore.

XXXIII.—“ Noli offendi, quia non nimium
 “ fido (2). Nunc postquam ob studium tibi obse-
 “ quendi, mi chare amice, neque honori, neque
 “ conscientiae, nec periculis, neque quantavis mag-
 “ nitudini parco (3) ; rogo in bonam partem ac-
 “ cipias, ac non juxta interpretationem fallacis fra-
 “ tris uxoris tuae (4), cui rogo nullam adhibeas
 “ fidem adversus fidelissimam omnium quas aut
 “ habuisti, aut habebis, amicam.

XXXIV.—“ Noli eam intueri, cujus fictae la-
 “ chrymae non debent tanti esse, quanti fidi la-
 “ bores (5) quos ego perfero, ut merear in ejus
 “ locum succedere : quem ut obtineam, ego eos
 “ prodo, idque adversus ingenium meum, qui im-
 “ pedimento esse possent (6). Deus mihi det ve-
 “ niam ; et Deus tibi det, mi unice amice, eum suc-
 “ cessum, et felicitatem (7), quam tua humilis et
 Vol. II. Q “ fidelis

“ fidelis amica tibi optat, quæ brevi sperat aliud de
 “ te, in præmium mei molesti laboris (8).”

“ quand vous recevrez ces lettres (1), faictes le
 “ moy scavoir.

XXXIII.—“ Ne vous offensez point, si je [ne]
 “ me fie par trop (2). Maintenant donc, mon
 “ cher amy, puis que pour vous complaire je n’es-
 “ pargne ny mon honneur, ny ma conscience, ny
 “ les dangers, ny mesmes ma grandeur quelle
 “ qu’elle puisse estre (3); je vous prie, que vous
 “ le preniez en la bonne part, et non selon l’inter-
 “ pretation du faux frere de vostre femme (4),
 “ auquel je vous prie aussi n’adjouster aucune foy
 “ contre la plus fidele amye, que vous avez eüe,
 “ ou que vous aurez jamais.

XXXIV.—“ Ne regardez point a celle, de la-
 “ quelle les feinctes larmes ne vous doivent estre de
 “ si grand poix, que les fideles travaux (5), que je
 “ souffre; afin que je puisse meriter de parvenir en
 “ son lieu: pour lequel obtenir, je trahi, voire con-
 “ tre mon naturel, ceux qui m’y pourroient empes-
 “ cher (6). Dieu me le vueille pardonner; et
 “ vous doint, mon amy unique, tel succez et feli-
 “ cité (7), que vostre humble et fidele amye le
 “ fouhaitte, laquelle espere en brief autre recom-
 “ pense de vous, pour ce mien facheux labeur
 “ (8).”

(1) But how *could* he be in Edinborough at the
 receipt of this letter, when he appears from the
 I rebel

rebel journal itself, to have left Edinborough on the evening of January 24th, and not to have returned *towards* it till January 28th *.

(2) "*For* I give not ovir greit credite," Scotch; "*quia non nimium fido*," Latin, very erroneously; and still more erroneously, "*si je me fie par trop*," French. I have added the lost negative to the French.

(3) The French here has added "*mon, ma, les*," and "*mesmes*," to the text.

(4) Huntly; called here in French, by a literal translation from the Latin, "*frere de vostre femme*," but hereafter, with more precision, "*beau-frere*."

(5) "*Sa mekle praisit nor estemit*," Scotch; "*tanti*," Latin; "*si grand poix*," French. "*Trew and faithful*," Scotch; "*fidi*," Latin; "*fideles*," French.

(6) "*Natural*" and "*impesche me*," Scotch; "*ingenium*" and "*impedimento*," Latin; "*naturel*," and "*me impescher*," French.

(7) "*Hap and prosperitie*," Scotch; "*succesum et felicitatem*," Latin; "*succez et felicité*," French.

(8) "*Hopis to be—ane uther thing to zow*," Scotch; "*sperat aliud de te in præmium*," Latin; "*and espere—autre recompense de vous*," French.

* Appendix, N° x.

XXXV.—“ It is lait (1); I desyre never to
 “ ceis fra wryting unto zow; zit now, after the
 “ kissing of zour handis, I will end my letter.
 “ Excuse my evill wryting, and reid it twyse over
 “ (2). Excuse that thing that is scriblit, for I had
 “ na paper zisterday, quhen I wrait that of the
 “ memoriall (3). Remember upon zour lufe, and
 “ wryte unto hir, and that verray oft (4). Lufe
 “ me as I fall do zow.”

XXXV.—“ Serum est (1); tamen nunquam
 “ cupio cessare a scribendo ad te; tamen nunc,
 “ post oscula manuum tuarum, finem meis literis
 “ imponam. Excusa meam in pingendo imperi-
 “ tiam, easque relege (2). Excusa cursionem cha-
 “ racterum, quia heri chartam non habebam, cum
 “ id quod in commentario erat scriberem (3).
 “ Reminiscere tuæ amicæ, ac sæpe ad eam re-
 “ scribe (4). Redama me, uti ego te amabo.”

XXXV.—“ Il est tard (1); neantmoins je ne
 “ desire jamais cesser de vous escrire; et toustes-
 “ fois, apres vous avoir baissé les mains, je feray fin
 “ a mes lettres. Excusez mon ignorance a escrire
 “ et relisez mes lettres (2). Excusez la brief-
 “ ueté des caracteres, car hier je n'avoye point
 “ de papier, quand j'escrivi ce qui est au memoire
 “ (3). Ayez souvenance de vostre amye, et luy
 “ rescrivez souvent (4). Aimez moy, comme je
 “ vous aime.”

(1) This shews the second half of the letter, to be pretendedly written in the night of the second day; as the first pretends to have been, in that of the first day.

(2) This is thrown in a second time, to account more strongly for the dissimilarity of the forger's writing to Mary's.—“ Evill *wryting*,” Scotch; “ in “ *pingendo* imperitiam,” Latin; “ ignorance a “ *escrire*,” French, from the corrected Latin: “ reid “ it twyse over,” Scotch; “ eas *relege*,” Latin; “ *relisez* mes lettres,” French.

(3) This whole clause shews “ the memoriall” or *memorandums*, about the middle of the letter, to have been written “ zisterday,” or the day before the second half of the letter was; and to have been written in a particular manner, because her paper failed, as she actually mentions at the time that it was failing. And it concurs with that mention to prove, that the first half of the letter terminates with those memorandums.—“ Erat,” Latin, wrong; and “ est,” French, right, from the corrected Latin.

But there is another point to be considered here. That “ the memoriall” means the *memorandums* preceding, is plain from what I have just noticed, and from the use of the word *memorial* before in the same sense. “ Gif I leirne ony thing heir,” she says, “ I will mak zow *memoriall* at evin.” These *memorandums* were written, it appears, “ scriblit,” Scotch; “ *curfione* characterum,” Latin; “ brief- “ *ueté* des caracteres,” French; or in words shortened and abbreviated, *because* her paper begun

to fail. Yet *are* the *memorandums* in contracted terms at present? No! They are not, in the Scotch*. They are not, in the Latin†. They are not, in the French‡. They are at full length in all. They are even at more than full length. Every *memorandum* but one, makes a distinct paragraph of itself. So different are the copies at present, from what the originals pretend to have been!

(4) “*Verray oft*,” Scotch; “*fæpe*,” Latin; “*souvent*,” French. But how *could* Bothwell write to her either “*oft*,” or “*verray oft*?” This letter could not be dispatched till the next morning, and could not reach Edinburgh before the day afterward. And that day, as she has told us already and will tell us again, she intends to set out, and actually does set out. The words are plainly thrown in, from a wanton imitation of a real love-letter, and without considering the particular circumstances of the case. But they serve usefully at present, to expose the absurdity of these fictitious epistles. And they add one more, to the many proofs which we have noticed already, concerning that absurdity.

XXXVI.—“ Remember zow of the purpois of
“ the Lady Reres (1).

“ Of the Inglismen (2).

“ Of his Mother (3).

* See Anderson, ii. 138.
Goodall, ii. 16—17.
ibid,

† See Jebb, i. 273, and
‡ See Jebb, i. 337, and Goodall,

“ Of

- “ Of the Erle of Argyle (4).
- “ Of the Erle of Bothwell (5).
- “ Of the ludgeing in Edinburgh (6).”

XXXVI.—“ Reminiscere sermonis de Reresfiâ (1).

- “ De Anglis (2).
- “ De Matre ejus (3).
- “ De Comite Argatheliæ (4).
- “ De Comite Bothueliæ (5).
- “ De hospitio Edinburgi (6).”

XXXVI.—“ Et ayez memoire du propos Madamoiselle Reres (1).

- “ Des Anglois (2).
- “ De sa Mere (3).
- “ Du Conte d'Arghley (4).
- “ Du Conte de Bothwel (5).
- “ Du logis d'Edimbourg (6).

(1) This relates to the immediately preceding half of the letter, in which Lady Reres is mentioned. “*Lady Reres*,” Scotch; “*Reresfiâ*,” Latin; “*Madamoiselle Reres*,” French, from the corrected Latin.

(2) This relates both to the first and the second half of the letter, in both which the design of embarking on board an English vessel is mentioned.

(3) This refers to neither the first nor the second half. The Countess of Lenox, mother to the King, is noticed in neither.

Q 4

(4) The

(4) This Earl is spoken of in the second half. "Argyle," Scotch; "Argathelia" again, Latin; "Arghley," a mis-print for "Argathley," French.

(5) In the former volume, I have marked the strangeness of mentioning Bothwell as a third person, when the letter is supposed to be addressed to him. Nor does the strangeness consist merely in the form. It is equally in the substance. The Earl of Bothwell is desired to remember about—the Earl of Bothwell. This is so excentric and unnatural in itself, as could never come from the pen of Mary. And the forger appears from this stroke, as I have previously observed, to have originally addressed the letter to some person different from Bothwell, and to have left the stroke unaltered when he altered the address.

(6) How strongly does *this* set of *memorandums*, prove the absurdity of Dr. Robertson's and Mr. Hume's respective hypotheses, concerning the preceding! *These* cannot be hints for the *subsequent* parts of her letter, because they are absolutely at the end of the whole. *These* cannot be the contents of the letter *preceding*, because they refer to some points which are not in the letter at all; that concerning his mother, and this concerning the lodging at Edinburgh.

But how comes the latter point to be mentioned? The King by this letter is to go to Craigmillar, not Edinburgh. By the next also he is. How comes then a hint to intrude here, about his lodgings at Kirk-a-field; for those are plainly meant? From this circumstance only. The rebel journal shews

shews the letter originally, to have carried the King by Kalendar and Linlithgow to Kirk-a-field. This route was afterwards changed, into another for Craigmillar. But a solitary reference to the original route, was accidentally forgotten to be altered. It had been originally answered by this passage of the journal: “Bothwell, this 24th day [of January], “wes found verray tymus weséing the Kyng’s “*ludging*, that *wes in preparing for him**.” And it still remains at the tail of the whole, to confirm the account of the journal, to betray the alteration made in the letter, and to demonstrate the forgery in the clearest manner.

* Appendix, N° x.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

§ I.

LETTER THE SECOND (1).]

I.—“ It appeiris, that with zour absence thair is
 “ alswa joynit forzetfulness, seand yat, at zour de-
 “ parting, ze promysit to mak me advertisement of
 “ zour newis, from tyme to tyme (2). The wait-
 “ ting upon yame zisterday (3), causit me to be al-
 “ maist in sic joy as I will be at zour returning,
 “ quhilk ze have delayit langer then zour pomeis
 “ was (4).”

I.—“ Videtur cum tuâ absentiâ conjuncta esse
 “ obliviscentia, præsertim cûm in tuo discessu pro-
 “ miseris, quód me certiozem faceres, si quid inci-
 “ disset novi, per singula propé momenta (2).
 “ Eorum expectatio (3) propemodum in tantam
 “ lætitiâ me conjecit, quam [quantam] in tuo re-
 “ ditu sim acceptura, quem distulisti ultra quâm
 “ promiseras (4).”

I.—“ Il semble, qu'avec vostre absence soit
 “ joinct l'oubly, veu qu'au partir vous me pro-
 “ mistes

“ mistes de vos nouvelles, et toutesfois je n'en puis
 “ apprendre (2). De quoy l'esperance (3) m'a
 “ quasi jetté en aussi grande joye, que celle que je
 “ doy recevoir a vostre venue, lequel vous avez
 “ différée plus que ne m'aviez promis (4).”

(1) *When* this letter pretends to be written, will appear hereafter. But it may be proper to remark at present, that, plainly as this shews itself to be one in succession to another, yet it was published in Buchanan's English Detection, as the first of all*. The title of it ran thus; “ ane letter writtin
 “ be hir from Glasgow to Bothwell, proving hir
 “ hait to hir husband, and sum suspiciounis of
 “ practising his deith, quhilk letter was writtin in
 “ French, and heir ensewis translatit worde for
 “ worde.” Then comes the first letter, which is so apparently the first from the contents of it; published as the second, and with this title to it, “ ane
 “ uther letter to Bothwell, concerning the hait of
 “ hir husband, and practice of his murther †.” The eighth letter is put third, with this inscription to it, “ ane letter to Bothwell concerning certane takinis
 “ that scho sent him ‡.” The third succeeds in the
 “ fourth place, called “ ane uther letter to Bothwell,
 “ of hir lufe to him §.” And then we have the real fourth. So negligently are they arranged, even under the eye of Buchanan himself! Yet the three first were arranged in their natural order, by the

* Anderson, ii. 129.

† Ibid. 131.

‡ Ibid. 144.

§ Ibid. 147.

Latin edition of them. And the seven first were equally arranged so, by the French.

(2) This it was impossible for Bothwell to have done. He left her at Kalendar on January 23d, and returned to Edinburgh. The next day in the evening, he set out for Lydisdale. And on January 28th, and not before, he set out from Lydisdale on his return*. He was gone therefore in the evening of January 24th, when she wrote the former half of her letter preceding. He was absent in the evening of January 25th, when she wrote the latter half. He was absent, when she wrote the present and the two next letters. They were all written, says the journal, on the 24th—26th of January. “ 24. The Quene remained at Glascow, “ lyck as she did the 25th and the 26th,—and in “ this tyme wrayt hir BYLLE [the former letter] “ and uther letteris to Bothwell.” Nor let it be suspected, that his departure from Edinburgh was sudden, unexpected by himself, and unknown to the Queen. She peculiarly knew of it. This appears from several strokes, in the very letters themselves. Thus in the preceding she says; “ gif ze “ be in Edinburgh at the ressaie of it,” her letter, “ send me word, &c.” Thus also, in the present, she wants to know what she shall do, “ in cace ze “ be not RETURNIT quhen I am cum thair,” to Edinburgh. This is a plain intimation, concerning his journey to Lydisdale. But soon afterwards

* Appendix, N° x.

she speaks of it in direct terms. "I pray zow," she says, "to send me gude newis of zour voyage." "AGE." She therefore knew of his "voyage" or journey. She was doubtful, whether he would be returned from it or not, by the time of her arrival in Edinborough. And she was previously doubtful, whether he could be at Edinborough at the coming of her letter. He therefore could *not* have promised her, and she could *not* have expected him, "to mak her advertisement of his newis from tyme to tyme." Hence also she could not have charged him now, with forgetfulness. Those repeated addressees too, which we have seen before and shall see hereafter, in which Mary requires advice and requests intelligence from him; are as impossible to have been made, as I have previously shewn them to be absurd in the making. And all concur to make Murray's letters, for the twentieth time, betray his and their own villainy.

Stat contra dicitque tibi tua pagina, FUR ES.

The Latin here is very strange. It interpolates "præsertim," but is not followed by the French. "Zour newis" it renders "*si quid incidisset novi*," in opposition to the whole tenour of the sentence. And "from tyme to tyme" it translates, in opposition to itself, "*per singula propé momenta*;" as if something new was to befall him, nearly every moment. Such a translation of the whole clause, "to mak me advertisement of *zour newis* from "tyme to tyme," into "*quód me certiores faceres, si quid incidisset novi, per singula propé momenta*," appears the more remarkably wild and extra-

extravagant; when we consider, that the same expression recurs in a future part of this very letter, and that “advertise me of *your newis*” is *there* translated thus, “*fac me certiolem de tuis rebus.*” For this reason perhaps, the French drops the last intimation entirely and then gives us these words, “*et toutesfois je n’en puis apprendre.*” Yet this is one of the three sentences, which Doctor Robertson, fighting in the very breach for his assaulted hypothesis, fondly fancied to be the last visible remains of the real original in French; and to have a “spirit” and an “elegance” in them, which neither the Scotch, the Latin, nor the present French, have attained*. The *proof* for this passage is—what? That it has the words “*et toutesfois je n’en puis apprendre*” in it, when neither the Latin nor the Scotch have them; and, as ought to have been added, that it leaves out the words “*from tyme to tyme,*” which both the others have. And the addition may well be balanced, by the suppression. But indeed the clause, “*et toutesfois je n’en puis apprendre,*” is not properly an addition at all. It is merely a blundering translation of a clause in the Latin. It was intended by the Frenchman, to answer some words which he did understand. For “*promiseris—si quid incidisset novi,*” we have “*promistes de vos nouvelles;*” and for “*quod me certiolem faceres,*” we have “*et toutesfois je n’en puis apprendre.*” He understood not the latter. He guessed at the meaning. He was unhappy in his guess. And by supplying the

* Diff. 32 and 34.

negative which he thought to be wanting, and shaping the whole to his own conceptions, he produced the present sentence.

(3) "Zisterday," an important note of time strangely omitted in Latin and in French, could not be the day in which she wrote the second half of her letter, because of the joy which she says she felt in expecting a letter from him. Had she *then* been in this expectation and this joy, it would have appeared in what she then wrote. "Zisterday" therefore was the day afterward, or January 26. And consequently the day, on which she wrote this, was January 27. Accordingly in this very letter she says thus; "gif Paris bringis me that quhilk I send him for, I traist it fall amend me." If "send" here means the present time, she sent him off the morning after she had finished *the letter*, and this must then be January 26th. But if it means the past, as it stands equally for our *send* and *sent*; then it refers to what she had done the morning before, and this must then be the 27th. And that it does mean the past, Buchanan is a strong witness; he rendering it "miseram," and the French accordingly, "j'avoye envoyé."

(4) This is also impossible to be true. He had gone into Lydisdale, on the evening of the 24th. It was a long journey, through the worst of roads, and in the worst of seasons. She knew he was to take it. He went, no doubt, upon some business of his office. He was lord-warden of the marches*.

* Anderson, i. 91 and 92.

An object, that required such a journey in such a season, would be important enough to detain him a day or two. In fact it did detain him till the 28th*. And yet Mary is most absurdly made to complain on the 26th or 27th, whichever day we fix the date of this letter, that he had *then* delayed his return (not to Edinburgh, but to Glasgow) longer than he had promised; when in fact he *could* not have gone and returned, by *either* of those days.

II.—“ As to me, howbeit I have na farther
 “ newis from zow, according to my commissioun, I
 “ bring the man with me to Craigmillar (1) upon
 “ Monounday (2), quhair he will be all Wednes-
 “ day (2); and I will gang to Edinburgh to draw
 “ blude of me, gif in the meane tyme I get na newis
 “ in ye contrary fra zow.”

II.—“ Quod ad me attinet, quanquam nihil
 “ audiam præterea ex te novi, tamen, juxta partes
 “ mihi commissas, hominem adduco mecum ad
 “ Cragmillarium (1) die Lunæ (2), ubi erit toto
 “ die Mercurii (2); ego autem ibo Edinburgum,
 “ ut mittam ex me sanguinem, si nihil interea novi
 “ in contrarium de te audiam.

II.—“ Quant a moy, encor que je n'oye rien de
 “ nouveau de vos, toutesfois, selon le charge que j'ay
 “ receuë, j'ameine l'homme avec moy Lundy (2) a

* Appendix, N° x.

“ Crag-

“ Cragmillar (1), ou il fera tout le Meceddy (2);
 “ et j’iray a Edimbourgh pour me faire tirer du
 “ sang, si je n’enten [entend] rien de nouveau de
 “ vous au contraire.”

(1) To shew again the important alteration, which has been made in this and the preceding letter, concerning the designed route of the Queen towards Edinborough; let me once more produce the words of the journal. “ The Quene (conforme
 “ to hir commission, as she wryttis) broucht the
 “ King from Glascow to the *Kalendar*, towards
 “ Edynbrough;” as the next day “ the Quene
 “ broucht the King to *Linlythquow*,” and on the third day “ remained all day in *Linlythquow* with
 “ the King.” And, on the fourth, “ the Quene
 “ broucht the King to *Edynbrough*, and patt him
 “ in *his ludging qubair he endit* ;” that very “ ludge-
 “ ing in Edinburgh,” which is noticed at the end of the last letter *.

(2) This passage points out the days of the week, as the date at the bottom of the letter also does, “ From Glasgou this Setterday in the morning.” Let us appropriate the days of the month to them. And then we shall gain from both, one of the strongest marks of forgery that we have yet seen.

The Queen, by the Rebel Journal, reached Glasgou on January 23d, 1566-7. Now January 23d in that year, was a THURSDAY †. On THURSDAY

* Appendix, N° x. † Goodall, i. 120; Robertson Diff. 40; Goodall, ii. 249, Rebel Journal, for April 12th being Saturday; and Goodall, ii. 244, compared with ii. 248, for February 5th and 7th being Wednesday and Friday.

evening she sat with him after supper. On FRIDAY evening, January 24th, she wrote the former half of the first letter. And on SATURDAY evening, January 25th, she wrote the other half. The evidences for this, have been produced again and again before. There is no error possible in them. The *first* letter could not be finished, till SATURDAY night. It could not be sent off, before SUNDAY morning. And yet the *second* letter is dated on SATURDAY MORNING. This is exceedingly gross, indeed.

But let us trace some of the principal notes of time once more, to pin down conviction more strongly on the mind.

In the *former* half of the letter preceding, she speaks of something that happened “the morn[e] after my cumming.” This again shews the *former* half to be written, on FRIDAY January 24. Nor let disingenuity pretend to take shelter, in a supposed interpolation*. Interpolations must be proved, before they are allowed. And, if arguments were to be answered by suppositions, all reasoning would be at an end, and the human mind left to drivel on in the chimæras of a dream.

All the other notes of time, also, coincide with this. They all concur with it, to prove *that* half of the letter to have been written, in the *evening* of *the day after her arrival*. Thus the first or THURSDAY evening, January 23, he “desyrit,” she says, “yat I fuld walk,” that is, wake, “with him;—I excusit myself for this nycht, that I culd not walk.” *This night therefore she retired to bed, as*

* Robertson, Diss. 28.

she well might after her journey. The *next* day, being "the morne efter her cumming," he confessed something concerning Willie Hiegait, which he had not confessed in the conversation the night before. And in the *evening* of that day she is employed in writing, what she calls her "first jorney," and which she "fall end the morne" or next day; being now "ganging to sleip." So plainly was the *first* half of the preceding letter, written in the *night* of FRIDAY January 24th. The *other* half, we see, was intended to be written "the morne," or next day, SATURDAY January 25th. So also she says in another part of this former half; "I am gangand "to seik myne [repose] till the morne, quhen I "fall end my bybill," bylle, or long letter. But when does she end it? On the morrow, or SATURDAY January 25. "I wrocht this day," she says, "quhill it was twa houris," or two o'clock, "upon "this bracelet." She also adds afterwards, "I "saw him not *this evening*, for to end zour bracelet." And she finally adds, that "it is *lait*."

All this demonstrates the false chronology of the letters, in the plainest manner. Their own notes of time refute them. They carry their own paper of infamy, displayed upon their breasts. And yet they have been believed to be genuine, by a manly and thinking nation. They have been defended by a Hume. They have been admitted as history by a Robertson.

III.—“ He is mair gay then ever ze saw him (1);
 “ he puttis me in remembrance of all thingis, yat
 “ may make me beleve he lufis me (2). Summa,
 “ ze will say yat he makis lufe to me (3): of the
 “ quhilk I tak sa greit pleisure, yat I enter never
 “ where he is, bot incontinent I tak ye seiknes of
 “ my fair fyde (4), I am sa troubillit with it (5).
 “ Gif Paris bringis me that quhilk I send him for,
 “ I traist it fall amend me (6).”

III.—“ Est hilarior ac vegetior, quàm unquam
 “ eum videris (1); subjicit mihi in memoriam (2)
 “ omnia, quæ efficere queant ut me credam ab eo
 “ amari. In summâ, diceret quòd me cum summâ
 “ observantiâ colat et ambiat (3): quâ de re ita
 “ magnam capio voluptatem, quòd nunquam ad
 “ eum ingredior, quin dolor lateris mei infirmi (4)
 “ me invadat, ita me malé habet (5). Si Paris ad
 “ me afferet id cujus causâ eum miseram, spero
 “ me meliùs habituram (6).”

III.—“ Il est plus joyeux et dispos, que vous ne
 “ l'avez jamais veu (1); il me reduict en memoire
 “ (2) toutes les choses, qui me peuvent faire enten-
 “ dre qu'il m'aime. En somme, vous diriez qu'il
 “ m'honore et recherche avec grand respect (3):
 “ en quoy je pren si grand plaisir, que je n'entre
 “ jamais vers luy, que la douleur de mon costé
 “ malade (4) ne me faisisse, tant il me fasche (5).
 “ Si Paris m'apportoit ce pourquoy j'avoye envoyé,
 “ j'espere que je me porteroye mieux (6).”

(1) This is extraordinary. The King is yet very weak. He was to rise, as she tells us in the second half of her letter, written in the evening of Saturday January 25th, “the morne betyme,” early on Sunday January 26th. This was the first time of his leaving his bed. He therefore desired the Queen, “to cum and fé him ryse.” Yet now, on *Saturday* morning, he is very gay. But let us suppose it to be the morning, on which he was to rise; and let us suppose him, on finding himself risen from the bed of dangerous sickness, full of spirit, full of courtesy, full of gallantry. Yet he could not possibly “be mair gay,” than ever Bothwell had seen him. He had however *saluted every body, even to the lowest persons, and had made piteous caressing unto them, to draw down their pity upon him;* at a time when he kept his bed, and saw no one. And, in the same strain, he is now “mair gay then ever;” when he is so weak, as to be carried to Edinburgh in a litter.—“Mair gay,” Scotch; “hilarior ac vegetior,” Latin; “plus joyeux et dispos,” French.

(2) “He puttis me in remembrance of,” Scotch; “subjicit mihi in memoriam,” Latin; “il me reduict en memoire,” French. “The word *memoire*,” says the Miscellaneous Remarker *, “has enabled THE SCOTTISH TRANSLATOR, to give the general meaning of this sentence. It is plain, however, that he did not comprehend the particular import of the phrase, “il me reduict en memoire,” which means to draw up a list or in-

* P. 9.

“ ventory. The expression, as here used, is highly
“ farcaſtical and insulting. He makes out for my
“ uſe a *catalogue*, of all the circumſtances in his
“ conduct, which may make me underſtand that
“ he loves me.” I have cited this paſſage, merely
to hold up the author of it once more, to the merit-
ed ridicule of the publick. “ Mr. Goodall,” he
acknowledges, “ has proved beyond poſſibility of
“ cavil; that the *firſt* letter, as we now have it, was
“ tranſlated into French from the Latin copy*.”
This acknowledgment was ſurely ſufficient, to have
ſettled the gentleman’s faith. If one letter is proved
to be a tranſlation, when it pretended to be an ori-
ginal; then an impoſture is detected. If one letter
aſſerted itſelf to have been written by Mary, in the
French language; and yet appears from its own in-
ternal evidence, to be merely a tranſlation from the
Scotch at ſecond hand; then a forgery is proved.
And if one of the letters is proved to be a forgery,
“ beyond poſſibility of cavil;” he muſt be a cavil-
ler indeed, who will ſtill maintain the authenticity of
the others. Yet this gentleman does maintain it.
He ſuppoſes it. He ſpeaks of the Scotch as a tran-
ſlation, in direct contradiction to his own confeſſion.
He ſays, that this tranſlation has not given us the
preciſe import of the French original here. And
thus any difference between the two copies, without
proof that the French is the original, and even
againſt proof that the Scotch is; is to be aſcribed
to the inaccuracy of the Scotch, as a tranſlation. I
have already confirmed the internal arguments of
Mr. Goodall, by an hiſtorical evidence, that goes to

* P. 34.

all the letters; and that proves *all* to have been Scotch, many months before they were French. But, to what I have said, I wish to subjoin one brief remark, on this gentleman's reasoning concerning the French of this passage. "Reduire en memoire," he says, signifies "to draw up a list or inventory." This is not true. Nor would it be available, if it was. "Reduire en memoire" signifies to make a memorandum of a thing. So "memoire" is used for "memorial," in Let. i. Sect. xxxv. And "mettre en memoire," is used for "making memorial" in Sect. xxxii. Yet even this is only the *secondary* sense of the expression. The *primary* is simply, "to recall into memory." So we have "ayez memoire" in Let. i. Sect. xxxvi. for "remember now." Indeed "reduire en memoire" is purely the Latin "reducere in memoriam," retained in the French. And, as we *know* the French of *all* these letters to be merely the Latin translated; we know "il me reduict en memoire" here, to be merely the "subjicit mihi in memoriam" of the Latin, or, as the corrected Latin perhaps ran, "reducit mihi in memoriam;" and both to be a translation of the Scotch, "he puttis me in remembrance." Bishop Lesley says, in preface to his Negotiations, "I have reduced to their remembrance*."

(3) At York the words were these, "summa, ye will say he makis *the court* to me†." And the Latin version appears to have been formed upon this reading, "cum summâ observantiâ colat et

* P. xix, Anderson, iii.

† Appendix, N° vii.

“ ambiat,” so faithfully retained in the French, “ honnore et recherche avec grand respect.” And a variation of a single word only, in a letter pretending to be an original of Mary’s, evinces the forgery of the whole.

(4) Dr. Robertson was imprudent enough, to dwell upon this as a mark of authenticity. The pain in her side, he says *, “ is mentioned—in a manner so natural, as can scarce belong to any but a genuine production.” An argument of this kind, from its very feebleness of nature, can never be of any consequence. But let us examine it. Such a writer, even in his weakest essays of reason, is not unworthy of a refutation.

“ The Queen,” says Le Croc, “ behaved herself admirably well all the time of the baptism; and shewed so much earnestness, to entertain all the goodly company in the best manner, that this made her forget in a good measure her former ailments. But—she continues to be—pensive and melancholy. She sent for me yesterday,” December 22d, “ and I found her laid on the bed weeping sore, and she complained of *a grievous pain in her side*. And, for a furcharge of evils, it chanced that the day her Majesty set out from Edinburgh for this place,” Stirling, “ she hurt one of her breasts on the horse, which she told me is now swelled †.” The intimation in the text was plainly intended, as a kind of burlesque upon this incident in Mary’s life; and, as a burlesque is sure to be, is greatly overcharged. She

* Diff. 27.

† Keith, pref. vii.

was “weeping fore,” at the strange conduct of the King. And the strong anguish of her spirit, which she had thrown off during her appearance before her splendid guests, and which, for that very reason, returned with the greater force upon her in retirement; had occasioned, as strong anguish frequently did in her *, and frequently does in others, a violent pain in her side. But what parallel can there possibly be, between such a cause for the pain, and the present; between the mere sight of her husband, *whom she went to see*, whom she *knew* she should find sick, whom she has *repeatedly* seen in his sickness already, and to whom she wished to shew every mark of attention; and this great burst of confined sorrow? None surely. And nothing, but the monster-making spirit of forgery, could have thought of ranking them as equivalent. Mary appears *not*, to have been generally “subject to a violent pain in her side;” as Dr. Robertson expressly infers from the embassadour’s letter, that she does †. He might as well have concluded from it, that she was generally subject to “pensiveness” and melancholy,” to a habit of “weeping fore,” or to “a hurt and swelled breast.” These were complaints all equally incidental. The weeping, from the sharpness of the paroxysm, occasioned the pain. And the letter-writer, willing to catch at any circumstance, that should seem to *appropriate* his forgeries; and acting under the *peculiar* promptitude of forgers, to *generalize* incidents; took up an occasional pain, made it an habitual one, and even gave it to the Queen at a time, when the most

* Haynes, 510.

† Diff. 27.

habitual

habitual could never have been given. He has thus made the pain in the side, completely farcical. He has thus betrayed the over-doing hand of imposition, in the work. And he has turned Dr. Robertson's mark of authenticity, into a full proof of forgery *.

But let me here dwell upon the Queen's pain in her side, a little more. It is thus spoken of, in three passages of cotemporary papers. "She sayd," as one of Cecil's flatterers tells us, who went to visit her just after Elizabeth's violent removal of her to Tutbury Castle in Staffordshire, "that all that day she wrought
 " with hir nydill, and that the diversitie of the colors
 " made the worke seme less tedious; and continued
 " so long at it, till veray payn made hir to give over:
 " and with that layd hir hand upon hir *left* syde,
 " and complayned of *an old grief newly increased*
 " *there* †." In a letter of her own she herself says thus: "I have taken some medicine this daye, and
 " have a little access of an agew, *throughe the paine*
 " *of my syde*; wherefore I will pray you," the Duke of Norfolk, "to excuse me that I write not at more
 " lengthe ‡." And, in a letter of Bishop Lesley's to the same Duke, we have this very circumstantial account. "Please yow bee advertised," says the Bishop, "the Quene of Scottes hath bene mar-
 " vellowse fore vexed with *payne of her syde*, which
 " engendreth continyal vomytes. The cause there-
 " of, as considered by the Doctors," Good and Apflow, who were sent to her from London §, "is

* To shew the eternal shiftings of falshood, Buchanan has taken this intimation, and varied it thus; "*quhais stomach*
 " *turnit* at the sight of him, quha is suddanelly taken with pangis
 " at his presence." 144. Anderson, ii. and 252. Jebb, i.

† Haynes, 510.

‡ Murrin, 158.

§ Ibid, 27.

" only

“ only suffocacio matricis quia definit esse mater,
 “ which they affirme to be a common disease to
 “ virgines and young widowes; so that, how soon
 “ that she shall begyne to be a mother and bear
 “ children, she wyll be wholly relieved, by Godde’s
 “ grace, of the disease. She is now growing bet-
 “ ter, thanks bee to God. Trewlie the vehemencie
 “ thereof, at this tyme, *did procede of a ground-*
 “ *ed melancholis*, ingendred of despayringe her
 “ causes*.” The physicians, we see, attributed
 this pain in her side, to a cause that could not have
 been productive of it. They ascribed it to her be-
 ing a widow so young, and to her not bearing
 children. But we find her equally afflicted with
 “ a grievous pain in her side,” at a time when she
 was *not* a widow, and *soon after* she had been actually
 a mother. And these physicians seem to have
 reasoned in that low and gross strain of philosophiz-
 ing, which shuts all agency of spirit out of its
 system, and confines itself within the narrow sphere
 of matter. Mary’s pain in her side, was produced
 by an affection of her mind. It “ did procede of
 “ a melancholis” on her spirits. It was therefore
 the more “ vehement,” as the melancholy was
 more “ grounded.” It was *then* attended, some-
 times with vomitings, and sometimes with aguish-
 ness. And *then* also it was occasionally increased,
 either by over-writing or by over-working.

(5) “ I am sa troubillit with it,” Scotch; “ ita
 “ me malé habet,” Latin; “ tant il me fasche,”
 French. This is brought as another instance by
 Miscellaneous Remarker †, of *the Scottish translation*

* Murdin, 165.

† P. 39.

missing the sense of *the French original*. “The
 “Scotch,” he observes, “says with *it*, the French
 “*il*; the sense is, *he* so troubles or vexes me.”
 But the real sense in both is, that *it*, French *il*,
 troubles me. “He makis lufe to me,” says this
transformed Mary, “of the *quhilk* I tak sa greit
 “pleisure, yat I enter never where he is, bot in-
 “continent I tak ye feiknes of my fair fyde, I am
 “sa troubillit with *it*.”

But here let me notice another proof of the
 forgery, in another variation of the text. “I am
 “sa troubillit at it,” as Mary writes in the *West-*
minster original of this letter, was primarily written
 by her in the *York* original, “I am foe *fascbit* with
 “it*.” And the French “tant il me *fascbe*,”
 which could not be derived from the Scotch, be-
 cause it is not in the Scotch of the Westminster let-
 ters, shews very plainly the casual coincidences,
 betwixt the Scotch and the French of the letters.

(6) This is one more of the anachronisms, that
 betray the whole. Paris, the bearer of the last let-
 ter, could not go with it before it was finished. But
 it was not finished, till late in the night of Saturday,
 January the 25th. He therefore could not set out
 till Sunday morning, January 26th. Yet “zister-
 “day” she was in full expectation of an answer,
 and to-day she thinks an answer would cure her of
 her sickness. And yet to-day, by the date of this
 very letter, is only “Setterday in the morning.”
 She therefore expected an answer to her letter—be-
 fore it was sent, and even—before it was written.

* Appendix, N° vii.

Even if we overlook this, and suppose this to be the morning *after* she had finished her letter; the bearer *can be but just gone with it*, as the letter could not be sent before the morning. Even if we pass over this too, and again suppose one whole day to have elapsed between dispatching the first letter and writing the second; she could expect no answer yet, and still less could she expect one “*yesterday*.” Even if we once more address ourselves to the work of *creating* time, and throw in two whole days betwixt the first and second letters; still no answer could be expected to-day, none could be expected yesterday, and none could come in less than one whole day more. And when we consider further, that all this is said upon the supposition of Bothwell being then at Edinburgh, though he was actually at Lydisdale all the while; and reflect also, that the letter-writer knew he was; we see the difficulties increasing upon us, in spite of all our endeavours. We see the chronology hanging like a mill-stone, around the neck of the letters; and we behold them sinking under the weight,

With louder ruin to the gulphs below.

The fact is, that the letters suppose the Queen to have continued longer at Glasgow, than the journal allows her to have done. That such a variation should have been introduced into letters, which were to be modelled upon the dates of the journal; is most extraordinary. The very existence of the journal, and the very discovery of it among the other papers of Cecil's, shews it to have been intended as the key and companion of the letters.

On

On that, no doubt, were they formed at first. But from that were they made to deviate afterwards, by those alterations and corrections; of which we have seen so many in the preceding parts of this work, and of which I have shewn an additional one, at the end of the last letter. And thus mention was incidentally made of a variety of days in the letters, while there were only three, and one evening besides, in the journal. Thus, the first letter is written in *two* days after the day of arrival. A *third* day is referred to in these words of it, “he desyris
 “me to cum and se him ryse *the morne* betyme;—
 “gif I leirne ony thing heir, I will mak zow me-
 “moriall at *evin*.” On this third day, the first letter is dispatched. An answer could not return, even from Edinburgh only, under three days. Murray actually makes Paris to be three days, in bringing back this very answer*. “Zisterday” therefore, when Mary expected an answer, must have been the *fifth* day at least. And *to-day* must be the *sixth*. This is very like Falstaff’s “eleven
 “buckram men, grown out of two;” and results from the very same spirit, the careless confidence of habitual falsehood. It is certainly very wonderful, that the rebels should have so far indulged their confidence and their falsehood, as to depart boldly from the very line, which they had prescribed to their conduct. But it is certainly more wonderful, that, after they *had* departed, they should either not see or not mind their own anachronisms; and still give in to the commissioners of England that very journal, by which, of all possible papers in the world,

* Goodall, ii. 77—78.

those anachronisms were most sure to be detected. And all serves to shew, what cannot be too often inculcated, the amazing infatuation of succeeding times; in catching up with profound respect this hastily and clumsily carved block of wood, fancying it “an image that fell down from Jupiter,” and so giving it a most honourable niche in the temple of history.

IV.—“ I pray zow, advertise me of zour newis
 “ at lenth, and quhat I fall do, in cace ze be not
 “ returnit quhen I am cum thair (1); for in cace
 “ ze wirk not wyfely, I fé that the haill burding of
 “ this (2) will fall upon my schoulderis. Provide
 “ for all thingis, and discourse upon it first with
 “ zoursel. I send this be Betoun (3), quha gais
 “ to ane day of law of the Laird of Balfouris (4).
 “ I will say na farther, saifing that I pray zow to
 “ send me gude newis of zour voyage (5). From
 “ Glasgow this Setterday in the morning.”

IV.—“ Oro, fac me certiolem de tuis rebus pro-
 “ lixé, et quid mihi sit faciendum, si tu non eris
 “ reversus cûm ego illuc veneró (1); quia, nisi tu
 “ rem geras prudenter, video totum onus (2) in
 “ meos humeros inclinaturum. Prospice omnia,
 “ ac priús tecum rem expende. Hæc tibi mitto
 “ per Betonem (3), qui proficiscitur ad diem
 “ dictum D. Balfurio (4). Non dicam plura, nisi
 “ quód te rogo ut de tuo itinere me certiolem
 “ facias (5). Glascua hôc Sabbato mané.”

IV.—“ Je

IV.—“ Je vous prie, faiâtes moy scavoir bien
 “ au long de vos affaires, et ce qu’il me faut faire,
 “ si vous n’estes de retour quand je seray là ar-
 “ rivée (1); car si vous ne conduisez la chose sage-
 “ ment, je voy que tout le faix (2) retournera sur
 “ mes espaules. Regardez a tout, et premiere-
 “ ment espluchez le faict en vous mesmes. Je
 “ vous envoie ceci par Beton (3), qui s’en ira au
 “ jour assigné au Sieur Balfurd (4). Je ne vous
 “ en diray d’avantage, sinon pour vous prier que
 “ me faciez entendre de vostre voyage (5). A
 “ Glascow ce Samedy matin.”

(1) This is one of those many addresses for intelligence, which could not possibly be granted, even upon the forger’s *own* chronology. *By this very letter*, it was now Saturday in the morning. *By this very letter*, she was to set out on Monday. And he was to send her a long letter of news, betwixt the one and the other. But where was he *then*? Not at Edinborough. This is plain. He might not be returned thither, even by the time she reached the city. From whence then was he to write her this long letter? From Lydisdale, very plainly. And, betwixt Saturday and Monday morning, he was to receive her letter from Glasgou, and to write a long answer from Lydisdale, containing a full account of himself, and instructing her how she was to act, in case he should not be returned at her arrival. So wonderfully do the impossibilities multiply upon us, at every survey of the chronology!

(2) “ Of

(2) "Of this," Scotch, omitted in Latin and French.

(3) This is "Archibald Betoun," as Thomas Nelson's depositions inform us, "quhilk—wes escheare of the Quenis chalmer-door*."

(4) "Day of law," Scotch; "diem dictum," Latin; and "jour assigné," French. The Frenchman, not understanding the peculiar import of the expression "dies dictus," translated it literally, and therefore unmeaningly. When "day of law" occurred before, the Latin rendered it paraphrastically, "in eum ipsum diem ut causam diceret accersitum," and the French, "ce jour-la mesme il estoit adjourneé." And the Miscellaneous Remarker appears to have been as ignorant of the Scotch, as the Frenchman was of the Latin. "A day of law of the laird of Balfouris," he says, "is an unintelligible phrase: the meaning of the French seems to be, 'who will go on the day appointed to Mr. Balfour.' 'We know not to what circumstance this alludes†.' And thus the very Mary, who says she sends this letter by a bearer, that goes to one of the Lord of Balfour's courts, is made by the Frenchman and the Remarker to send it by a man, that will go on some future day with it, and to Mr. Balfour instead of Bothwell. "A day of law" is an expression, which was very common formerly for a court-day. The Earl of Lenox desires Mary, "to differ this day of law" for Bothwell's trial‡; and points out some

* Goodall, ii. 244.

† P. 39.

‡ Anderson, i. 53.

ridiculous inconvenience, “gyf your Majestie fuf-
 “fer this fchort *day of law* to go forwart*.” “I
 “will,” fays Murray upon another occasion, “con-
 “tinue *the day of law* till another time †.” And
 “the *day of law*,” fays the English embaffadour
 Randolph to his Queen, “againft the four burgeffes,
 “men of this town, is like to hold; for any thing
 “that ſhe,” Mary, “can be perfuaded to the con-
 “trary ‡.” The term *law-day*, alfo, appears in
 all the old charters within our own kingdom. It
 appears even in Sir Nicholas Throgmorton’s dif-
 patches, to Elizabeth from Scotland; he faying in
 one of them, that “the *law-day* for the murder of
 “the late King, doth hold §.” It appears equally
 in a diary, kept by Cecil himſelf; who fays in
 1565, that “May 3. Erle Murray and Argile
 “[were] at Edenburgh to keep the *law-day*
 “agaynft the Erle of Bothwell ||.” It appears too
 in the additions to Hollinshed’s history; the Earl
 of Huntly in 1562 being ſaid to come with a large
 party towards Aberdeen, in order “to helpe his
 “fon at the *law-day* appointed for his apperance**.”
 And “the laird of Balfouris” was the well-known
 Sir James Balfour, called by Lord Kenſdon “Ba-
 “foord,” and by Walsingham “Sir James Ba-
 “ford ††;” as he is here called by the French
 tranſlator, “Sieur Balfurd.”

(5) The mention of the “voyage” here, con-
 firms the hint above, of Bothwell’s being gone to

* Anderſon, 54. † Goodall, i. 398, from Calderwood’s
 M. S. Hiſt. ‡ Goodall, i. 246—247. § Keith, 451.
 || Murdin, 758. ** ii. 379. †† Haynes, 524, and
 Robertſon, ii. 463.

Lydisdale, and of the Queen's knowing it. Yet she still continues her clamours, for news from him; when, from that very "voyage," they were doubly impossible to be gratified. "Send me *gude* newis," Scotch; "me certiolem facias," Latin; and "me faciez entendre," French. She wanted not merely to hear *news* of his journey, but *good* news. Yet Miscellaneous Remarker, with a strange turn of thought, objects to the Scotch,—for being wiser in its meaning than the French*.

* P. 39.

§ II.

LETTER THE THIRD.

I.—“ I have walkit [waked] laiter thairup then
 “ I wald have done (1), gif it had not bene to
 “ draw sum thing out of him (2), quhilk this beirer
 “ will schaw zow; quhilk is the fairest commoditie
 “ that can be offerit, to excuse zour affairis (3). I
 “ have promysit to bring him [the bearer] to him
 “ [the King], the morne (4). Put ordour to it,
 “ gif ze find it gude (5).”

I.—“ Diutiús illic morata sum quám volebam
 “ (1), nisi id factum fuisset ut aliquid ex eo ex-
 “ sculperem (2), quod hic tabellarius tibi indica-
 “ bit; quæ est bellissima occasio ad excusandum
 “ nostra negotia (3). Promisi me ipsum cras ad
 “ eum adducturam (4). Tu rem cura, si tibi
 “ commoda videtur (5).”

I.—“ J'aye veillé plus tard là-haut que j'en eusse
 “ fait (1), si ce n'eust esté pour tirer (2) ce que ce
 “ porteur vous dira; que je trouve la plus belle
 “ commodité pour excuser vostre affaire, qui se
 “ pourroit presenter (3). J'ay promis, que je luy
 “ meneray demain cestuy-la (4). Vous aiez en
 “ soin, si la chose vous semble commode (5).”

(1) Buchanan read the words, as they seemingly
 ought to be read, “walkit up there,” not “walkit
 “ thair-up,”

“thair-up,” as Dr. Robertson reads them*. But he carelessly rendered “walkit up,” by “morata fum.” And so the whole became “illic morata fum.” The corrected Latin saw the error, amended it, and made another. It turned “morata fum” into *vigilavi*, and “thair-up,” as it read the words with Dr. Robertson, into *illic sursum*; and so produced in its reflection, the French, “j’aye veillé plus tard là-haut.” And thus the passage implied Mary to be; as she is actually said in the rebel journal to have been, when she wrote the non-apparent letter, concerning “the abbot of Haly-ruid-house;” writing in a room below the King’s. Yet she now lodged in a different house. “All the freindis of the uther,” the Stuarts, the adherents of Darnly, “convoyis me quhen I gang to sé him;” she says in her first letter. And there she “wrayt hir bylle, and uther letteris, to Bothwell.”—This passage, however, shews the third letter, like the two parts of the first, to be written late at night. On what night, will appear hereafter.

(2) “Out of him,” Scotch; “ex eo,” Latin, omitted in French.

(3) “Fairest occasioun,” Scotch; “bellissima occasio,” Latin; and “la plus belle commodité,” French. “Zour,” Scotch; “nostra,” Latin; “vostre,” French, from the corrected Latin. So the words “that can be offerit,” have not these or any words correspondent in Latin, *quæ possit occurrere*; and yet have these in French, “qui se pourroit presenter.” And Miscellaneous Re-

* Diss. 35.

marker suspects, “ that the French has been erroneously transcribed, and that the original word was “ *executer* *.” But has the Scotch also been “ erroneously transcribed ?” This however he will presume, to be only a version from the French, and so to copy the erroneous reading there. He may *presume* it was. But others have *proved* it was not. And was the Latin also transcribed erroneously, or will he *presume* the Latin to be equally a version from the French ? The word being the same in all the three copies, and good sense in all ; every conjectural reading, surely, is precluded for ever.

This is the last of the three sentences, from which, as connoisseurs in statuary pretend to judge of an Apollo by a finger or a toe, Dr. Robertson attempts to prove the existence of a French copy, different from that very copy, in which these very sentences are found. But what is the *proof* from the present passage ? It lies, according to the Doctor himself, in “ j’aye veillé plus tard là-haut,” being plainly no translation of “ diutiús illic morata sum ;” and “ pour excuser *vostre* affaire,” being “ very” different from “ ad excusandum *nostra* negotia †.” The whole therefore is reduced to two variations, betwixt the French and the Latin. Are such variations, then, *confined* to the *first* sentence of each of these three letters ? Are they not extended to other sentences ? And are they not diffused all over the letters ? They are. I have shewn them to be so,

* P. 40.

† Diff. 33.

in the two letters preceding. I shall shew them to be so, in this. And the Doctor's argument will thus, in *his* mode of proving, demonstrate the *present* French, and *every* sentence in it, to be that very original; which it primarily pretended to be, which Mr. Goodall has so powerfully proved it not to be, and which even the Doctor dares not assert it is. The truth is, as I have already shewn and shall shew still farther, that from those posteriour corrections of the Latin, which we have even seen Buchanan himself making, from inattention at one time, and from ignorance at another, the French and the Latin vary frequently; though they are still so close in general, and the French still adheres so particularly to the very blunders of the Latin, that the confession of the French translator was hardly necessary, to shew he translated from the Latin. He confessed however, that he did. Nor does he make the ridiculous exceptions, which Dr. Robertson chuses to make for him; and say he translated all from the Latin, *except the first sentence in each of the letters*, which he took from—the French original. He says that he translated *all*, all of the first three letters, and all of the other four too. Let him come, and speak for himself again. “Au reste,” he tells us, “*epistres mises sur la fin,*” which *were all but the eighth*, “*avoient esté escrites*” “*par la Royne, partie en Francois, partie en*” “*Escossois; et depuis traduites ENTIEREMENT en*” “*LATIN: mais, n’ayant cognoissance de la langue*” “*Escossoise, j’ay mieux aimé exprimer TOUT ce,*” “*que j’ay trouvé en LATIN, que,*” &c. This confession

confession takes a comprehensive sweep. It makes *all* the seven letters, and the *whole* of *each* of the seven, to have been translated into Latin, and from thence to have been rendered into French. It starts no piddling objections about sentences or half-sentences, at the head or at the tail of any. It embraces all within its wide-spread arms. And it proves the fancied existence of a French copy at the time, to be all a fairy vision; the creation of minds, that have subjected their judgments to their imaginations; the invited dreams of self-delusion. Nor let this be thought too severe, upon a very respectable writer. He is here, I believe, all that I insinuate. He has noticed two variations in this passage, of the French from the Latin. But he *omits* a third, because it is a variation from the *Scotch*, as well as the Latin; and because it makes *nonsense* of the clause. “To draw sum thing *out of him*, quhilk this beirer will schaw zow,” Scotch; “ut aliquid *ex eo* exsculperem, quod hic tabellarius tibi indicabit,” Latin; “pour tirer [*bors de luy*, should have been added] ce que ce porteur vous dira,” French. And the Doctor ought, in honesty, to have produced *this*, as a *third* proof of the originality of the French here; or, as he saw the absurdity of that, to have given up his hypothesis entirely, to have owned his convictions, and to have remitted the letters to the scorn and detestation of mankind.

(4) “The morne,” Scotch. What day this was, I shall endeavour to shew hereafter. At present

sent I remark, that this letter was not to go away, before the bearer had been carried by the Queen to the King, the next day.

(5) What this was, we know not. It was never intended, that we should. It is only one of the many nothings, which are veiled up in a mysterious obscurity, in order to rise into consequence; as a hill, seen through a fog, swells up into a mountain.—“Put ordour to it,” Scotch, that is, put the matter in a train for action; “tu rem cura,” Latin; and “vous ayez en soin,” French.

II.—“Now, Schir, I have brokin my promeis;
 “becaus ze commandit me nouthir to wryte nor
 “send unto zow (1). Zit I have not done this
 “to offend zow (2). And gif ze knew the feir
 “yat I have presently, ze wald not have so many
 “contrary suspiciounis in zour thocht (3); quhilk
 “notwithstanding I treit and chereis (4), as pro-
 “ceeding from the thing in the warld (5), that I
 “maist desyre, and seikis fastest to haif (6), quhilk
 “is zour gude grace; of the quhilk my behaviour
 “fall assure me (7). As to me, I fall never dis-
 “pair of it; and prayis zow, according to zour
 “promeis, to”

II.—“Nunc,

II.—“ Nunc, Domine, ego pactum violavi;
 “ quia tu vetuisti ne vel scriberem vel mitterem ad
 “ te (1). Non tamen hoc feci quo te offenderem
 “ (2). Et si scires quanto in metu ego sum in
 “ præsentiâ, non tot in animo haberes contrarias
 “ suspiciones (3); quibus tamen ego faveo, et boni
 “ consulo (4), tanquam profectis ab eâ re, quam
 “ ego omnium quæ sub cœlo sunt (5) maximé
 “ cupio et diligentissimé persequor (6), qui est tuus
 “ favor; de quo mea me officia certam et securam
 “ facient (7). Quod ad me attinet, nunquam de
 “ eo desperabo; ac te rogo,”

II.—“ Maintenant j’ay violé l’accord; car vous
 “ aviez deffendu que je n’escrivisse, ou que je n’en-
 “ voyasse, par devers vous (1). Neantmoins je ne
 “ l’ay faict pour vous offenser (2). Et si vous
 “ scaviez en quell crainte je suis a present, vous
 “ n’auriez point tant de soupçons contraires en vos-
 “ tre esprit (3); lesquels toutesfois je supporte, et
 “ pren en bonne part (4), comme provenans de la
 “ chose, que je desire le plus de toutes celles qui
 “ font sous le ciel (5), et que je poursuy avec ex-
 “ treme diligence (6), a scavoir, vostre amitié;
 “ dont tant de devoirs que je fay me rendent cer-
 “ taine et assurée (7). Quant a moy, je n’en desef-
 “ pereray jamais; et vous prie,”

(1) Mary now appears to have made a “ pro-
 “ meis,” because Bothwell required one from her,
 “ nouthor to wryte nor send unto” him. This is
 most amazing. She has never mentioned it be-
 fore.

fore. Yet she has actually written TWICE. And this gives the very stamp of absurdity itself, to these ill-contrived forgeries. Nor let it be said, in order to evade the censure, that he so “command-
“dit” her in a *letter* since his departure. She speaks not merely of his “command,” but of her own “promeis.” This could not be given by *letter*, even if the “command” could; as to give it so, would be to break the command in promising to obey it. And the stamp must still remain fixed, in one of its deepest impressions, upon the face of the forgeries.—“Schir,” Scotch; “domine,” Latin, omitted in the French.

(2) Why then did she write at all? She has nothing particular to say. Even if she had, she was commanded, and had promised, neither to write nor send unto him. But when both reasons concur to keep her hand from the pen, in the name of propriety why does she write at all?—*She was obliged to write.*

Is it in equilibrio,
Whether the Gods descend or no?
Then let th’ affirmative prevail,
As requisite to form my tale.

(3) What suspicions were these? Of Mary’s fidelity to Bothwell, I suppose. But *why* should Bothwell entertain such? And *how* comes Mary to know, that he does entertain them? Neither appears. She *cannot* have heard from him, though she was so impatient for hearing in the last letter. He is in Lydisdale all this while. She does not say that she has heard from him, and yet has lost all her

her impatience. How is all this? This letter, indeed, is apparently unconnected with the foregoing. All intimation concerning the King, is nearly suppressed. There is no hint of Paris, or the first letter. There is no hint of Beton, or the second. And I take it from all the features of it, to have been one super-added to the original number from Glasgow; super-added some time after the number was finished, but before the mention of the letters in the journal was finally settled. The journal speaks of Mary, writing "hir bylle and uther letteris" from Glasgow; plainly implying her to have written two or three letters, besides her bylle.

(4) "Treit and chereis," Scotch; "faveo et boni consulo," Latin; "supporte, et pren en bonne part," French.

(5) "The thing in the world," Scotch; "omnium quæ sub cœlo sunt," Latin; "toutes celles qui sont sous le ciel," French.

(6) "Maist desyre, and seikis fastest to haif," Scotch; "maximé cupio et diligentissimé persequor," Latin; "je poursuy avec extreme diligence," French, omitting the former clause.

(7) "My behaviour fall assure me," Scotch; "mea me officia certam et securam facient," Latin; "tant de devoirs que je fay me rendent certaine et assurée," French. The wordiness of the French, and even of the Latin, compared with the Scotch, is very evident. And the French has additionally turned the future time of the Scotch and Latin, into the present.

"discharge

“ discharge zour hart unto me (1): utherwayis I
“ will think that my malhure, and the gude hand-
“ ling of hir (2), that hes not ye third part of the
“ faithfull nor willing obedience unto zow, that I
“ beir (3); hes wyn, aganis my will, yat advantage
“ over me, quhilk the fecond lufe of Jafon wan (4):
“ not that I will compair zow unto ane fa unhappy
“ as he was, nor zit myself to ane fa unpietifull ane
“ woman as scho (5):”

“ ut juxta tua promiffa animum tuum mihi expo-
“ neres (1): alioqui fufpicabor fieri malo meo fa-
“ to, et fiderum favore erga illas (2), quæ nec ter-
“ tiam habent partem fidelitatis, et voluntatis tibi
“ obfequendi, quam ego habeo (3); ut ipfæ, velut
“ fecunda Jafonis amica, me invitâ, priorem apud
“ te locum gratiæ occupaverint (4): nec hoc eô
“ dico, quô te cum homine, eâ quâ ille erat infeli-
“ citate, comparem, nec me cum muliere tam alienâ
“ a mifericordia (5) quâm”

“ que fuivant vos promeffes, vous me faciez en-
“ tendre vofre affection (1): autrement j’eftimeray
“ que cela fe faict par mon malheureux destin, et
“ par la faveur des aftres envers celles (2), qui
“ toutesfois n’ont une tierce partie de loyauté, et
“ volonté que j’ay de vous obeïr (3); fi elles, comme
“ fi j’eftoye une fecond amye de Jafon, malgré
“ moy

“ moy, occupent le premier lieu de faveur (4): ce
 “ que je ne dy, pour vous a comparer a cet homme
 “ en l'infelicit  qu'il avoit, ny moy avec une
 “ femme toute esloign e de misericorde (5), comme
 “ estoit celle-la : combien que vous”

(1) “ Discharge zour hart unto me,” Scotch ;
 “ animum tuum mihi exponeres,” Latin ; “ me
 “ faciez entendre vostre affection,” French. The
 Miscellaneous Remarker observes, that it is diffi-
 cult “ to say, how so plain a French phrase should
 “ have been disfigured in a translation * ;” he being
 one of those logicians, who choose to *beg* the ques-
 tion, when they cannot make it their own by their
 prowess ; and so *supposing* the Scotch to be a
 translation from the French. But are the Scotch
 and the French then different ? They certainly are.
 And *the French is wrong*. Mary does not want
 Bothwell, to disclose his affection to her. She
 wants him to lay open his heart, and to tell her the
 ground and reason of his suspicions. Accordingly,
 the Latin renders the words, “ animum tuum mihi
 “ exponeres.” And the Frenchman, mistaking the
 import of the Latin, turned “ animum” into “ af-
 “ fection.”

(2) “ My malhure, and the gude handling,”
 Scotch ; “ malo meo fato, et siderum favore,” Latin ;
 and “ mon malheureux destin, et par la faveur des
 “ astres,” French. This is a very extraordinary
 translation, in the Latin. It is substituting one

* P. 40.

thing for another. Yet how faithfully does the French adhere to the Latin, even when this departs most widely from the Scotch; marking carefully the print of its steps, and treading exactly in them! “*Vestigia nulla retrorsum.*” But the Miscellaneous Remarker informs us, that “*par la faveur des*” “*astres*” is certainly right, for “*par mon mal-heureux destin*” goes before*. He might as well have said, that the Latin “*fiderum favore*” is certainly right, for “*malo meo fato*” goes before. The French is derived entirely from the Latin. And both are wrong, because both are different from the Scotch, the true original. This has “the gude handling of,” &c. But the Miscellaneous Remarker adds, and in the same strain of unfortunate argumentation, “there must be some blunder here.” He did not comprehend the meaning of the words. He therefore very naturally chose, rather to impeach the sense of the text, than affront his own understanding. The meaning is this: Mary desires him to lay open his heart to her; or else she shall suspect, that her own evil fate, and Lady Bothwell’s cunning management, have drawn Bothwell from her. “The gude handling of hir,” plainly means the good management of Lady Bothwell. So we have in the sixth letter, “*quhat he desyris for the*” “*handling of himself;*” meaning what instructions he wants, for the proper management of himself. And the same clause was actually in the letter, at its original appearance in York; with another

* P. 40.

word in it instead of "handling," but precisely to the same purport. "I pray zou," the sentence then ran,— "to discharge your hart to me, uth-
 " wayis I will think, that my malheure, and the
 " guid *composing* of," &c *.

But from this variation in the readings, at the York and the Westminster conferences; and from the words of the Latin version; I suspect another variation to have taken place in the passage, and the *original* words to have been *as the Latin read them*. The Latin is too wide from the Scotch at present, to have ever proceeded from mis-printing, mis-reading, or mis-understanding the terms of the latter. The Scotch also appears plainly to have undergone a change, since the conference at York. And the Latin seems to stand as a powerful witness at present, that the Scotch underwent a change preceding this, and that the Latin version was made from it in its primary state. This seems also to be confirmed by another instance of the same nature, but of which the evidence is more positive. "I cum
 " na neirer unto him," says our present copy,
 " bot in ane chyre at the bed-feit †." "I cum na
 " neirar," said the copy at York, " bot SAT in
 " ane cheir at the bed-fute ‡." Yet the Latin
 was made from the York copy, running thus;
 " non accedo propius ad eum, sed in cathedrâ SEDEO
 " ad pedes ejus." And the French runs accord-
 ingly, " je n'approche pas pres de luy, mais je
 " m'ASSIEDS en une chaire a ses pieds." These
 facts concur with others, to point out a train of

* Appendix, N^o vii.
 dix, N^o vii.

† L. i. §. xx.

‡ Appen-

verbal variations, that were continually made in the letters, and were much more numerous probably, than the *substantial* alterations which I have noted before. On any supposition, however, THE FORGERY IS PLAIN. Mary could not write both “gude handling” and “gude composing.” And still less could she write “gude favour of the stars,” instead of both.

“Hir,” Scotch; “illas,” Latin; “celles,” French. Mr. Goodall observes, that the Latin has rendered “hir” by “illæ,” as if it read *thir* for *their*; and subjoins to his observation, that “there are writings of those times still extant, in which here and there it is hard to distinguish, betwixt the *b* and the *th*.” And the Miscellaneous Remarker concurs so far with him, as to say, that “*them*—in the Scottish dialect would be *thir**.” But this is a mistake in both. *Thir* in old Scotch does not mean *them*, but *these*. Accordingly, we find it in a letter from a Scotch gentleman, so late as 1701; who, speaking of “the Folio and Quarto editions” of Knox’s history, says, “I design to cause collate *thir* two editions †.” In these pretended letters of Mary’s, we have always *thame* for *them*. And in the fifth letter we have *thir* twice for *these*. “I dar not traist zour brother,” says the mis-represented Mary, “with *thir* [these] letteris;” and “judge ze, quhat amendment *yir* [these] new ceremonies have brocht unto me.” But the *original* word in the Scotch of this clause, was not “hir,” but “thame.” So it was at the exhibition

* Goodall, i. 90 and 91; and Remarker, 37. † Knox, Life, ii.

of the letters in York. "Utherwayis," says this oldest of all existing MSS concerning the letters, "I will think that my malheure, and the guid composing of *thame* that hes not," &c. It was this reading, which made the Latin run equally in the plural number, and drew the French after it. And, as this word concurs with the word adjoining it, to prove other variations in the very *terms*, of these pretended originals of Mary's writing; and thus to convict them of forgery, at every variation: so the existence of "thame" in the original, at York, and when Buchanan made his translation; and the appearance of "hir" in the copy, presented at Westminster, and afterwards published by Cecil; prove Buchanan to have made his translation, *before the exhibition at Westminster*. He accordingly presented his translation in MS, to Elizabeth and her commissioners; at the very time, the letters were exhibited in Westminster*. The letters were determined to be published, at least three of them; and the infamous *Detection* was actually drawn up, with three of them in it; AT THE VERY MOMENT, when Murray, and his compartners in villainy, were by a solemn protestation to the commissioners, declaring their unwillingness to accuse the Queen, the backwardness which they had hitherto shewn to do it, and the necessity which now forced them upon it at last†. The preceding half of this note, even implies Buchanan to have made his version, of the first three at least, *before* the conference at York; *before* the word *composing* was thrust into the

* Camden Transf. 117, and Orig. i. 144.
203—206.

† Goodall, ii.

text, and *while* the words *favour of the stars* yet possessed its place. A determination had probably been *then* formed, for the publication. And with a view to this I suppose it was, that Buchanan was named an assistant to the commissioners, and so made to rank with persons, much superiour to himself in consequence.

(3) “Faithfull nor willing obedience unto zow
“that I beir,” Scotch; “fidelitatis, et voluntatis
“tibi obsequendi, quam ego habeo,” Latin; and
“loyauté et volonté que j’ay de vous obeïr,”
French.

(4) “Hes wyn yat advantage over me,” Scotch;
“priorem apud te locum gratiæ occupaverint,”
Latin; and “occupent le premier lieu de faveur,”
French. How does every instance serve to demonstrate the great point laid down by Mr. Goodall, that the French is only a translation from the Latin! I have not *urged* the evidence upon the reader. I have left it to speak for itself. It has spoken loudly. And the point is clear, beyond a possibility of being obscured by all the powers of sophistry. History shews the French to be a *translation*. The language of the letters, shews it to be a translation *from the Latin*. And the translator himself, the best witness in the world for such a fact, acknowledges expressly that he made it from the Latin, *because he was ignorant of the Scotch*.

The instances then, that incidentally occur in the French version, of a deviation from the Latin, and a correspondence with the Scotch, can never

be attributed to the Frenchman himself. He who had no knowledge of the Scotch, “*n’ayant cognoissance de la langue Escossoise,*” could not catch any expression from it. He might take names, but he could not borrow words. He could not even *consult*, what he did not at all understand. He expressly tells us indeed, that he made his translation from the *Latin*, and *entirely* from the Latin, “*tout ce que j’ay trouvé en Latin.*” And the few correspondences, that are not merely accidental between the Scotch and the French; when opposed to the thousand between the French and the Latin; can be referred only to the hand of a reviser, who went over the French version, just as another or the same went over the Latin, to make it more conformable to the Scotch; but went with a wanton and careless step, and made some slight and random corrections of single words, while he left an infinite variety of words, and of combinations of words, to stand as they stood before, all different from the Scotch, and all similar to the Latin.

(5) “Not that,” Scotch; “*nec hoc eô dico,*” Latin; “*ce que je ne dy,*” French. “Ane fa
“*unhappy as he was,*” Scotch; “*homine, eâ quâ*
“*ille erat infelicitate,*” Latin; “*homme en l’infeli-*
“ *cité qu’il avoit,*” French. “Sa unpiefull ane
“*woman as scho,*” Scotch; “*muliere tam alienâ*
“*a misericordiâ quâm illa erat,*” Latin; and “une
“*femme toute esloignée de misericorde,* comme estoit
“*celle-la,*” French.

“Howbeit,

“ Howbeit, ze caus me to be sumthing lyke unto
 “ hir in ony thing (1) that tuichis zow, or yat may
 “ preserve and keip zow unto hir, to quhome only
 “ ze appertene (2); gif it be sa (3) that I may
 “ appropriate (4) that, quhilk is wyn throch faith-
 “ full, zea, only luifing of zow (5), as I do, and
 “ fall do all the dayis of my lyfe (6), for pane or
 “ evil that can cum thairof (7). In recompense
 “ of the quhilk, and of all the evillis quhilk ze
 “ have bene caus of to me, remember zow upon
 “ the place heir besyde (8).”

“ illa erat: quanquam tu me cogis aliquâ ex parte
 “ ut illi sim similis omnibus in rebus (1) quæ ad
 “ te pertinent, aut quæ te servare et custodire queant
 “ illi, cujus unius jure totus es (2); siquidem (3)
 “ id tanquam meum mihi vindicare possum (4),
 “ quod paravi, te unum fideliter, imô unicé aman-
 “ do (5), quod et facio, et faciam dum vixero (6),
 “ secura omnis laboris et periculi, quæ illinc im-
 “ pendere poterunt (7). Et ob hæc omnia mala,
 “ quorum tu mihi causa fuisti, hanc repende gra-
 “ tiam, ut loci memineris qui hîc vicinus est (8).”

“ me contraignez estre en aucune partie semblable
 “ a elle, en toutes les choses (1) qui vous con-
 “ cernent, ou qui vous peuvent garder et conserver
 “ a celle, a laquelle seule vous estes entierement de
 “ droict (2); car (3) je vous puis m'attribuer
 “ comme mien (4), qui vous ay acquis seul loyau-

“ ment, en vous aimant aussi uniquement (5),
 “ comme je fay, et feray tant que je vivray (6),
 “ me rendant assurée contre les travaux et dangers
 “ qui en pourront advenir (7). Et pour tous ces
 “ maux, desquels m’avez esté la cause, rendez moy
 “ ceste faveur, que vous ayez souvenance de lieu
 “ qui est prochain d’icy (8).”

(1) “ Ony thing,” Scotch; “ omnibus in re-
 “ bus,” Latin; “ toutes les choses,” French.

(2) “ To quhome only ze appertene,” Scotch;
 “ cujus unius jure *totus* es,” Latin; “ a laquelle
 “ seule vous estes *entierement* de droict,” French.

(3) “ Gif it *be sa* that,” Scotch, was thus when
 the letters made their first appearance upon English
 ground, “ yf it *may be suer* that*.” The Latin
 renders this by “ *siquidem*,” and the French ab-
 surdly substitutes “ *car*” for “ *siquidem*.”

(4) “ Appropriate,” Scotch; “ *tanquam meum*
 “ *mihi vindicare*,” Latin; “ m’attribuer comme
 “ *mien*,” French. The Scotch “ *version*,” says
 Miscellaneous Remarker, “ is incorrect, and does
 “ no more than aim at the sense of the French †.”
 This gentleman has thrown all his ideas into confu-
 sion, by embracing the ridiculous hypothesis of Dr.
 Robertson, concerning a double copy in French,
 one an original, and the other a translation; and
 by embracing it, without attending to *his* dis-
 tinctions. The *present* French, except only a few
 clauses at the *head* of the letters, the Doctor himself
 allows to be all a translation, and a translation from

* Appendix, N° vii.

† P. 40.

the Scotch through the Latin. Yet the Miscellaneous Remarker, without knowing it, overleaps all the bars and bounds, that the Doctor had set up; and speaks of those passages in Scotch as a version from the French, which the Doctor himself allows to have been an original, a mediate original to the French, and an immediate one to the Latin. So thoroughly confounded and lost is he, in the mazes of his own indistinctness! And thus the French here, which is apparently nothing more than the Latin reduced into French, he sets up for the original itself. The deviation of the French from the Scotch, particularly in translating “*siquidem*” by “*car*,” which makes nonsense of the whole; he attributes to the departure of the Scotch from the French: just as children, moving in a coach, attribute their progress, to the fields and the houses flying backward from them. And he overlooks entirely the interposition of the Latin, betwixt the Scotch and French; which shews demonstrably to our very senses, the level by which the French was fabricated.

(5) “That quhilk is wyn throch faithfull, zea,
 “only luifing of zow,” Scotch. She means this:
 if she may appropriate to herself, without any rival
 in Lady Bothwell, that heart of Bothwell’s, which
 she herself had gained by a faithful love of him,
 and of him only. Accordingly the passage is ren-
 dered thus in the Latin, “*quod paravi, te unum*
 “*fideliter, imó unicé amando.*” But the French
 has made strange work of the Latin, “*qui vous*
 “*ay acquis seul loyaument en vous aimant aussi*

“uniquement comme je,” &c. The words should have run thus, “qui vous ay acquis, en vous aimant aussi loyaument et uniquement, comme,” &c.; taking a new arrangement, and throwing out the superfluous “seule.” The translator was perplexed, by the native obscurity of the clause.

(6) “All the dayis of my lyfe,” Scotch; “dum vixero,” Latin; “tant que je vivray,” French.

(7) “For pane or evill that can cum thairof,” Scotch; “secura omnis laboris et periculi quæ illinc impendere poterunt,” Latin; “me rendant assurée contre les travaux et dangers qui en pourront advenir,” French. The brevity and force of the Scotch is strikingly apparent in this, and some preceding passages; when contrasted with the laxity of the Latin and French.

(8) What evils had Bothwell *now* drawn upon Mary? None certainly. This is therefore a proof of forgery, speaking from *posterious* ideas.—“Ob hæc omnia mala—hanc repende gratiam,” Latin; “pour tous ces maux—rendez moy ceste faveur,” French; both different from the Scotch in the turn of the words.

III.—“I craif with (1) that ze keip promise to me the morne (2); but that we may meit togidder (2), and that ze gif na faith to suspiciounis without the certanetie of thame (3). And I
9 “craif

“ craif na uther thing at God, but that ze may
 “ knaw that thing that is in my hart, quhilk is
 “ zouris (4); and that he may preserve zow from
 “ all evill, at the leift fa lang as I have lyfe; quhilk
 “ I repute not precious unto me, except in fa far
 “ as it and I baith ar agreabill unto zow. I am
 “ going to bed, and will bid zow gude nicht (5).
 “ Advvertise me tymely in the morning how ze have
 “ fairin (6); for I”

III.—“ Non (1) postulo ut cras (2) mihi pro-
 “ missa ferves, sed ut congregiamur (2), et ut nul-
 “ lam fidem suspicionibus adhibeas, nisi rebus ex-
 “ ploratis (3). Ego veró nihil aliud a Deo peto,
 “ nisi ut ea intelligas quæ sunt in animo meo, qui
 “ est tuus (4); et ut te præservet ab omni malo,
 “ saltem dum mihi supererit vita; quam et ego
 “ non duco mihi caram, nisi quatenus et ego et
 “ illa tibi placemus. Ego eo cubitum, et tibi
 “ valedico (5). Fac me certiore summo mane
 “ de tuâ valetudine (6);”

III.—“ Je ne (1) demande pas que vous me
 “ teniez promesse demain (2); ains que nous nous
 “ assemblions (2), et que n’adjouftiez point de foy
 “ aux suspicions, sinon l’experience faicte (3). Je
 “ ne demande autre chose a Dieu, fors qu’entendiez
 “ ce que j’ay en l’esprit, qui est vostre (4); et
 “ qu’il vous garentisse de tout mal, au moins pen-
 “ dant que je feray en vie; laquelle je ne tient
 “ point chere, sinon en tant que moy et elle vous
 “ sommes agreables. Je m’en vay coucher, et
 “ vous

“ vous dy a Dieu (5). Faitez moy certaine de
“ bon matin de vostre portement (6)” ;

(1) “ With,” Scotch, which is equally in Good-
all’s and Buchanan’s editions, is plainly a mis-print
for “ not.” The sense requires it. The context
demands it. And the two translations have it;
“ non,” Latin, and “ ne,” French.

(2) This is the day after the evening of the pre-
sent letter, and the day on which she was to meet
Bothwell. It was therefore the “ Monounday,”
on which she has already told us she will set out, if
she does not hear to the contrary from him. She
has not heard to the contrary. She therefore says
nothing, of having altered her intention. And she
actually set out, as the rebel journal itself shews us,
on Monday the 27th of January. She set out
agreeably to her previous resolution. To this very
resolution the journal refers us. And, on that very
day of the week, does it make her to set out*.
This it is of consequence to note.

(3) “ Without the certanetic of thame,” Scotch ;
“ nisi rebus exploratis,” Latin ; “ sinon l’experience
“ faicte,” French.

(4) “ Hart,” Scotch ; “ animo,” Latin ; “ ef-
“ prit,” French ; both wrong, but the last peculiarly
so. Her “ spirit” could not be said to be *his*. Her
“ mind” could not. But her “ hart” might.

(5) This adds to the evidence before, that the
third letter pretends to be written late at night.

* Appendix, N° x:

And the night appears above to be that of Sunday, January 26th.—“Gude nicht,” Scotch, which in Let. 5. Sect. 3. is rendered “la bonne nuit,” in French, is here “valedico,” Latin, and therefore “dy a Dieu,” French.

(6) This is very strange. It is now late at night. She is going to bed instantly. Her letter, therefore, could not be sent till the morning. And yet she desires him, in this very letter, and in the very next words of it; to apprize her “in the morning,” and “tymely,” or early in the morning too, how he is. This is such a sudden dash of inconsistency in the letter, as is scarcely to be paralleled, I believe, within the regions of sanity.

“will be in pane unto I get worde. Mak gude
 “watch, gif the burd eschaip out of the caige, or
 “without hir mate. As the turtur I fall remane
 “alone for to lament the absence, how schort yat
 “sa ever it be (1). This letter will do with ane
 “gude hart, that thing quhilk I cannot do myself,
 “gif it be not that I have feir that ze ar in sleiping
 “(2). I durst not wryte this befoir Joseph,
 “Bastiane, and Joachim, that did bot depart evin
 “quhen I began to wryte (3).”

“ego enim ero in molestia donec intelligam. Si
 “avis evaserit e cavea, aut sine compare, velut
 “turtur ego remanebo sola, ut lamenter absentiam
 “tuam

“ tuam quamlibet brevem (1). Hæc epistola li-
 “ benter faciet quod ego ipsa facere non potero,
 “ nisi fortè tu, quod metuo, jam dormias (2). Non
 “ sum ausa scribere præsentibus Josepho, Sebasti-
 “ ano, et Joachimo, qui nihil aliud [facerent] quàm
 “ discesserant, cùm ego cæpi hæc scribere (3).”

“ car je feray en peine jusques a ce que je l’entende.
 “ Comme l’oyseau eschappé de la cage, ou la tour-
 “ tre qui est sans compagne, ainsi je demeureray
 “ seule, pour pleurer vostre absence, quelque brieve
 “ qu’elle puisse estre (1). Ceste lettre fera volon-
 “ tiers ce que je ne pourray faire moy-mesmes, si
 “ d’aventure, comme je crain, vous ne dormez
 “ desia (2). Je n’ay osé escrire en presence de
 “ Joseph, Sebastian, et Joachim, qui ne faisoient
 “ que de partir quand j’ay commencé a escrire ces
 “ choses (3).”

(1) “ He who fancies,” says the Miscellaneous
 Remarker, “ that there is here a Scottish original
 “ and a French copy, may enjoy his opinion in
 “ private, but he will hardly venture to expose it
 “ to the world *.” Such is the confidence of con-
 fusion ! But *mark how a plain tale shall put him down.*
 “ Mak gud watch” is omitted in the Latin, and
 was therefore unknown to the French. It bids
 Bothwell to take good care of himself, for the reason
 suggested before and after it ; that she should be in
 pain till she heard how he was, and that, without

* P. 40.

him,

him, she should be a solitary turtle. This cautious admonition given, a new sentence commences, which goes to the end of the next. And, so pointed, the whole stands thus: "Mak gude watch. " Gif the burd eschaip out of the caige, or without " hir mate, as the turtur I fall remane alone for to " lament the absence, how schort yat sa ever it " be." If I am separated from you, says the *actor* of Mary, I shall be like a bird escaped out of a cage, or like a bird that has lost her mate; and I shall remain solitary as the widowed turtle, to lament your absence from me, let it be as short as it will. This then is the "Scotch original." Let us now turn to the "French copy." But we must first look at the Latin, a copy which this gentleman is repeatedly forgetting, though the only original to the French. "Si avis evaserit e caveâ, aut sine " compare, velut turtur ego remanebo sola, ut " lamenter absentiam tuam quamlibet brevem." This, we see, is precisely just. The punctuation particularly is the very same, that I have introduced into the Scotch; and shews it to have been in the Scotch, originally. But let us now see the French translation of the Latin. "Comme l'oyseau es- " chappé de la cage, ou la tourtre que est sans " compagne, ainsi je demeureray seule pour pleurer " vostre absence, quelque brieve qu'elle puisse " estre." This, we see, has retained the punctuation. It has also retained the general sense and imagery. But it has altered them in one circumstance. The words "velut turtur" it chose to read, as prefixed to "sine compare," in order, for-
sooth,

footh, to preserve the unity of the allusion. And thus it came to be what it now is, plainly not an original, plainly a version of the Scotch, and plainly a version of it through the medium of the Latin.

But let me add one observation more, concerning this remarkable passage. It was obscure. It was particularly so. It carried a more “visible” kind of “darkness” in it, than most of the passages about it. And it contained a hint of caution to Bothwell. For these reasons the commissioners at York singled it out, as a part of the letters peculiarly charged with villainy. “Finally she wrote to “Bothaill,” they say, “that accordinge to her “commiſſion she wolde bringe the man with her; “prayinge him to worke wisely, or else the whole “burden wolde lye on her shoulders; and *ſpecially* “to make good watche, *that* the bird escaped *not* “owt of the cage *.” This shews us very strongly, how lively and powerful their suspicions were, and how unfit they were to sit in impartial judgment upon the letters. Their imagination, “in a fine “frenzy rolling,” could “glance” from one letter to another; could see bloody spectres, where a common eye can see only love; and could give “a body and a form” at once, to these their “airy “nothings.”

(2) This passage undoubtedly imports, that the letter was to go to-night, and was to reach Bothwell, perhaps before he slept, but certainly before the morning. This therefore may seem to excuse

* Appendix, N^o vi.

the absurdity preceding, of her desiring him to send word early in the morning how he is. But let us consider all the circumstances; and then we shall see, that it is only an additional absurdity. She has sat up late with the King. She has returned to her own lodgings. She has dismissed all her attendants there. She has begun to write a letter to Bothwell. And, at the close of it, she says she is going to bed. Who then is to carry the letter? Nobody to-night. She has indeed a *particular* carrier. He is mentioned in the beginning of the letter. She there hints at something, “quhilk this beirer will schaw zow.” But then this bearer was not to set out, that evening. He was not to set out till the next morning. He was even to wait upon the King first. And “I have promysit,” says Mary, “to bring him [the bearer] to him [the King] the morne.” Nor let it be supposed, that as “the morne” means not merely the morning, but the whole of to-morrow; the bearer was to go that night, to return the next day, and then be introduced by Mary to the King. The whole context reprobates the supposition. “I have walkit laiter thair up,” it says, “then I wald have done, gif it had not bene to draw sum thing out of him, QUHILK THIS BEIRER WILL SCHAW ZOW; quhilk is the fairest commoditie that can be offerit, to excuse zour affairis. I HAVE PROMYSIT TO BRING HIM TO HIM THE MORNE. Put ordour to it, gif ze find it gude.” The bearer was first to see the King upon the business, then to relate all that had passed

passed to Bothwell, and Bothwell was then to act upon his information, if he found it expedient. And all concurs to shew, that the request to hear early in the morning from Bothwell, when the requesting letter itself was not to go till the very morning, is as ridiculous as I have stated it to be; and that the hint of the letter kissing Bothwell that night, if he is not asleep before it reaches him, is even more ridiculous, if possible, than the other. It was very ridiculous, even if the letter and the bearer were to set off instantly. At a late hour she had begun to write. At a later it was to be dispatched. It had to go some way to him. Yet it might perhaps reach him, before he had gone to sleep. And the astonishing extravagance of the whole, is heightened over and over by the consideration; that Bothwell was at this very time, in the distant region of Lydisdale; that this was Sunday January 26th, that he did not *set out* on his return from Lydisdale till Tuesday January 28th, and that he did not meet her till Thursday January 30th *.

“ This letter will do with ane gude hart, that
 “ thing quhilk I cannot do myself, gif it be not
 “ that I have feir that ze ar in sleiping,” Scotch.
 “ Here,” says Miscellaneous Remarker, “ the
 “ reader is entreated to try, whether he can make
 “ any sence of the Scottish copy †.” But is not
 the sence very obvious, for one of those allusive
 sentences, in which the principal point is *understood*,
 and not expressed? It certainly is. And now let

* Appendix, N° x.

† P. 41.

us try the French. “C’est lettre fera volontiers ce
 “que je ne pourray faire moy-mesme, si *d’adventure*,
 “comme je crain, vous ne dormez desia.” This
 is plainly the same in expression and in meaning.
 Only it adds one word, “*d’adventure*.” Shall
 “the reader” then be “entreated to try, whether
 “he can make any sense of the *French* copy?” He
 needs not. Every reader, except the Miscellaneous
 Remarker, can make sense of both. Yet,
 “for my own part, I am perswaded,” says the Re-
 marker; “that the translator rendered into the
 “Scottish language words and phrases, which he
 “understood when separately taken, but not when
 “taken altogether.” His own evidence, however,
 says directly the contrary. This very passage shews
 the Scotch to be exactly as the French, one word
 excepted; and not merely in words “separately
 “taken,” but in phrases “taken altogether.”
 And he totally forgets the Latin, though the
 French was derived from it, and though it be-
 trays its derivation by its additional word: “*hæc*
 “*epistola libenter faciet quod ego ipsa facere*
 “*non potero, nisi forté tu, quod metuo, jam*
 “*dormias.*”

(3) “Did bot depart,” Scotch; “*nihil aliud*
 “*[facerent] quàm discesserant,*” Latin; and “*ne*
 “*faisoient que de partir,*” French. The press had
 omitted “*facerent*” in the Latin. But it was in
 the *MS.* And from *this* the French took it, as
 it took “*que par breuvage*” from “*quàm per*
 “*medicinam,*” when the printed copy was only
 “*per medicinam.*”

Of the three persons here mentioned as attendants upon the Queen, Joseph was brother to that David, whose murder must have fixed such a deep stain of disgrace upon the reputation of Scotland, in the eyes of all foreign nations, at the time. He entered Scotland the 20th of April after the murder, in the train of the French embassadour *. He first acted, as secretary in his brother's place †. He afterwards became the Queen's goldsmith ‡. Hence Darnly is made to ask, whether Mary meant to dismiss Joseph from her service ||; as if his Majesty had taken some dislike to him. And he, together with "Francis Bastiane" here mentioned, whose full name was Francis Sebastian de Villars; and with "John de Bourdeous [Bourdeaux]," the "Joachim" perhaps of the letter, as John was equally with Joachim one of the Queen's household; was accused on suspicion of the King's murder by Lenox, under the title of "Joseph, Dauryis [David's] brother §." He also appears from Paris's second mock-confession, to have been frightened at a real or pretended summons, to appear before the parliament; and, with a prudence that was quickened probably by the unhappy fate of his brother, to have left the regions of barbarism and of murder, by a hasty flight **.

But, before I close my remarks upon the present letter, let me advert again to an expression at the head of it. "I have," says the mimicker of Mary

* Keith, App. 129. † Robertson, ii. 359. ‡ Anderson, ii. 157. || L. i. §. 6. § Anderson, i. 48; and Crawford 41. See also Knox, 404, and Spotswood, 200. ** Goodall, ii. 84.

there,

there, “walkit laiter thair up then I wald have
 “done.” These words carry a more than ordi-
 nary signification, with them. They mean not,
 as at first we are apt to suppose they do, *I have*
waked up later there, but with a sense much more
 emphatical, *I have waked there-up later*. THAIR-UP
 is the very same form of expression, with our UP
 THERE; when, with a reference to our own ideas,
 or to the conversation at the moment, we say of a
 place, that we have been *up there*. It therefore
 means not, that the Queen had “waked up” with
 the King, in the King’s apartment. It means
 more specifically, that she had “waked” with him
 in his apartment *above*. This the very arrangement
 of the words shews us; “I have *walkit laiter thair*
“up, then I wald have done.” This therefore the
 corrected Latin, the French, and Dr. Robertson,
 all understand them to import. And the French,
 “j’aye veillé plus tard *la-haut*,” is particularly
 expressive. This then being the sense of the words,
 how are we to apply them? To the relative situa-
 tion of the King’s and Queen’s apartments, at
 Glasgow? But let us see, where they respectively
 lodged. I have already shewn, that they were not
 in the same house. The Queen, no doubt, lodged
 in the archi-episcopal palace; while the King cer-
 tainly lay at Lord Lenox’s. She was attended to
 Glasgow, as I have shewn before, by “all the
 “Hamiltons.” She was accompanied to and from
 Glasgow, as Buchanan shews, by the Hamiltons
 again, and by the archbishop of St. Andrew’s, for
 one of them. She therefore lodged with her train
 in the palace at Glasgow, the archiepiscopal owner
 being

being at that time her embassador in France; and the palace being now held, I believe, as it had certainly been seized a few years before, by the head of all the Hamiltons, the present Duke of Chatelleraut. This is upon the highest ground of the city, being close to the cathedral; while the house, in which Darnly lodged, is still pointed out by tradition, and lies upon the descent from it. And therefore Mary could not possibly allude to the King's lodgings at Glasgow, by the words "thair up;" as she could not possibly call them, the apartments *above*. To what, then, does she refer by the words? She refers to this. The forger of the letter, with all that carelessness of confidence, which I have noted so frequently before, and shall note so frequently hereafter; laboured here under a confusion of ideas, from the perplexities of his memory. He imagined himself to be writing a letter for her at *Kirk-a-field*, while he was actually writing one at Glasgow. He did write her one afterwards, from *Kirk-a-field*. She *then* "ludged all nycht *under the King*, in the chalmer quhairin," &c.; "and *from thence* wrayt that same *nycht*," to Bothwell. *Then* therefore she might with the utmost propriety say, as she says here, that she had waked to a late hour "thair-up," *up there*, or in the apartments *above*. So Bothwell himself is made to say, in Calderwood's translation of Paris's first confession, when he and Darnly were at *Kirk-a-field*, and the latter confined to his chamber; "if that this King *here above* get on his feet" &c *. *Then* only could either he or she point at the King's

* Goodall, i. 138.

apartments,

apartments, by such a relative allusion. And, as the forger has thus placed the Queen at Kirk-a-field, when by his own account she was at Glasgow; he has sufficiently betrayed his forgery by his forgetfulness, again *.

* Detection, 15 and 65, Anderson ii. 242, and Jebb, i. 259; Admonition, 3; Ruddiman, ii; Keith, 330, 485, 487, and 488; and App. N^o x. And Buchanan, Hist. xviii. 351, says of Kirk-a-field and Mary, in exact conformity to what the blundering letter says of Mary and Glasgow; “Ibi ipsa aliquot noctes, extracto in longum colloquio, conquievit.”

§ III.

LETTER THE FOURTH (1).

I.—“ My hart, alace ! must the foly of ane wo-
 “ man, quhais unthankfulnes toward me ze do suf-
 “ ficiently knaw, be occasioun of displeasure unto
 “ zow, considering yat I culd not have remeidit
 “ thairunto, without knawing it (2) ? And sen that
 “ I persavit it, I culd not tell it zow, for that I
 “ knew not how to governe myself thairin (3).
 “ For nouthier in that, nor in ony uther thing, will
 “ I tak upon me to do ony thing without knaw-
 “ ledge of zour will, quhilk I beseik zow let me
 “ understand (4) ; for I will follow it all my lyfe,
 “ mair willingly than zow fall declair it to me : ”

I.—“ Mon cœur, hélas ! faut-il que la folie
 “ d’une femme, dont vous cognoissez assez l’ingra-
 “ titude vers moy, soit cause de vous donner de-
 “ plaisir, veu que je n’y pouvoye mettre remede,
 “ fans le donner a cognoistre (2) ? Et depuis que
 “ je m’en suis appercuë, je ne le vous pouvoye
 “ dire, pour ce que je ne sçavoye pas comme m’y
 “ gouverner (3). D’autant qu’en cecy, ny en
 “ autre chose, je ne veux point entreprendre de
 “ rien faire, fans que je cognoisse quelle est vostre
 “ volonté

“volonté (4), que je vous supplie me faire entendre;
 “car je l’executeray tout ma vie, voire plus vo-
 “lontiers que ne me le voudriez declarez [de-
 “clarer]:”

(1) *When* and *where* does this letter pretend to be written? It is one of the four from Glasgow. The rebel journal says, that Mary there “wrayt
 “hir bylle and *uther letteris* to Bothwell.” The bylle we know to be the first. The “*uther letteris*” must be two or three, at least. And as this letter shews itself to be one of the four, by mentioning something, “quhilk micht be hurtfull to
 “that quhairunto baith we do tend,” the marriage by means of the murder; so the next, or fifth, letter shews itself clearly to be written from another quarter. Yet when was it written at Glasgow? The Queen staid at Glasgow from Thursday January 23d, when she arrived there, till Monday morning January 27th, when she set out on her return. Of this time, the *first* letter has occupied Friday and Saturday nights, January 24th and 25th. The second is perhaps written on Sunday morning, January 26th; though it pretends to be written on Saturday morning, January 25th, which is impossible to be true. The *third* is written late at night, and on Sunday night, January 26th. And where, then, is there any room for the *fourth*? NOWHERE CERTAINLY. The rebels had once calculated their letters from Glasgow, to be three for the three days. Their own journal makes them only three or four. JUST THREE WERE ACTUALLY PRODUCED AT YORK. The intimation also in the third, of
 U 4 meeting

meeting Bothwell the next day, shews this to have been THE CLOSER OF THE WHOLE. Thus the first was designed for Friday evening; the second for Saturday morning, as it still is dated; and the third for Sunday evening, as in the evening it pretends to have been written. And the letters appear from the rebel journal, to have actually been so once. "January 24th [Friday]," it says, "the Quene remaynit at Glascow, lyck as she did the 25th [Saturday] and 26th [Sunday];—and IN THIS TYME wrayt hir bylle and uther letteris to Bothwell." But *Hyperion crossed the forgery* afterwards. He blasted it with the humour of correction. Alterations were made in the original letters. The original plan was overlooked in the amendments. Even a fourth letter was subjoined to the rest. And the whole chronology was thrown into such confusion, that the first letter extended itself into the place of the second, as well as its own; that the second was apparently written on Sunday, while its date assigned it to Saturday; and that the fourth was added—when there was no room for it in time. This presents us with a fine picture, of the natural confusedness of villainy. Confounded by the workings of its own guilty fears, the clearest understanding becomes muddled. A Lethington sinks into a driveler. And even the large intellect of an angel, is shrunk up into the narrow comprehensions of a devil.

(2) The story alluded to in this letter, seems to tell us the reason why it was written. It hints at
one

one of the Queen's gentlewomen, who had been ungrateful to her, now proving pregnant by a gentleman of her train. And she intimates, that she will make him *marry* her. Now Francis Sebastian, a Frenchman whom she mentions in her third letter as then present at Glasgow, was actually married the Sunday but one afterwards. His coming marriage is also hinted at in the first letter, when it is said of the King, that "he spak evin of *the marriage of Bastiane*." And what makes it the more memorable, and is, I apprehend, the leading clue to the fourth letter; he was married at Holyroodhouse *that very night* in which *the King was blown up*, and the Queen gave a banquet and a masque *that night*, in honour of the wedding. "Upon the "Sounday at nycht," says Thomas Nelson in his depositions before the commissioners of England, "efter s^che [the Queen] had taryd lang, and intertened the King very familiarlie; s^che tuk purpois (as it had bene on the suddan) and departed, "as s^che spak, *to gif the mask to Bastiane*, quha "that nicht wes mareit*." Mary confirms the substance of this account, in a letter which she wrote the next day; as she says, that she "of very "chance taryit not all night, be reason of *sum mask in the abbaye* †." And, after two such testimonies, I may venture to quote Buchanan, who says; that "this Sebastian was ane Arvernois, a "man in greit favour with the Quene, for his "cunning in musike and his merie jesting, and "was maryit the same day ‡." But *whom* did

* Goodall, ii. 245. † Keith, Pref. viii. ‡ Anderson, ii. 22, and Jebb, i. 244.

he marry? The last author will tell us, if we suppose Sebastian to be the *man* of this letter. The *woman* of it, says Buchanan *, was "Margaret Carwood." And a fourth letter was added after the York conference, in order to dwell upon the incident which produced this marriage; and so lead the thoughts of all, who recollected the transactions, and remembered their connection, to the very night of the murder at once.

The Latin version by Buchanan going no farther, I wish to observe concerning it; that the numerous errors in it coincide exactly with the historical evidence, which I have given in the former volume; and prove it impossible for Buchanan, however he has been almost invariably supposed to the present day, to have been the original author of the letters. He could not have mis-understood, what he wrote himself. He peculiarly could not so repeatedly, and so grossly, have mis-understood it, as he does. And the blunders of the Latin letters concur directly with the testimony of facts, to lay the guilt of this most impudent of all impudent forgeries, upon the head of another.

We have thus, however, lost the very beneficial assistance of the Latin. But we have made such use of it already, that we can very well spare it at present. It is made demonstrably clear, from the very collation of the two versions, Latin and French; that the French is only a version of the Latin. It has *appeared* so, in all the *three* letters

* Anderson, ii. 150, and Jebb, i. 342.

before.

before. It must be so therefore, in *the remaining five*. And the very translator himself acknowledges expressly, that it was so in *all*. Yet the Miscellaneous Remarker labours hard to prove, *he is mistaken*; to prove the translator *did not translate* from the *Latin*, as he said he did; to prove he *did not translate at all*; and to prove he unknowingly *wrote down the original*, when all the while he thought he was translating. This is of all ridiculous hypotheses the most ridiculous. It is an extravagance beyond the flight of Moorfields. And yet it is literally such, as I have described it to be. The author, indeed, overlooks entirely the Frenchman's confession. He seems to be ignorant of it. But he flies directly in the face of it. And he thus becomes chargeable with all the wildness of execution, that I have imputed to him. With this wildness, has he gone over the second and third letters. With this, does he also go over the remaining five. "There is no evidence," he says, "that *they* were ever translated into Latin at all; " an important circumstance, which Mr. Goodall, " and the author of the Enquiry [Mr. Tytler], " have in great measure overlooked *." That *they were* translated, however, has been decisively proved, I trust, in the antecedent parts of the present work. But, for greater satisfaction, I have lately produced the proving passage again. It is in that very confession of the Frenchman's, which is of so much consequence in itself. The letters, says this translator, were "*traduictes entierement*

* P. 25.

“ en Latin;” and he translated into French, he adds, “ *tout ce que j’ay trouvé en* “ Latin.” And yet the Miscellaneous Remarker is so ignorant of this, that he says “ there is no evidence,” the five last letters “ were ever translated into Latin.” They were *all* translated. Had they *not* been, we *should not have had* this French translation at present, to contest the palm of originality with the Scotch. The translator owns himself to have been quite ignorant of the language, in which the *true* original was written. He had no knowledge of the Scotch, he says; “ *n’ayant cognoissance de la langue* “ *Escossoise.*”

Having stated this important point for the last time, I trust; I now trace the steps of the Remarker, with the same attention that I have shewn before. “ Must the folly,” Scotch; “ *faut-il que la folie,*” French. “ *Faut-il que,*” observes the Remarker, “ does not mean *must*, but *ought* or *should*; and “ that is the sense of the writer *.” If the French did not properly express the meaning of the Scotch original, the blame must be charged to the French translation. But it does express it sufficiently, *according to his own account*, and even in *opposition* to it. “ *Faut-il que*” means “ *should*,” he says; and *must* in this connection means the same. And “ *il faut*” accordingly means either *must* or *should*. “ Without knowing it,” Scotch; “ *sans le donner* “ *a cognoistre,*” French. The Scotch, says the Remarker, “ is an expression altogether unintel-

* P. 26.

“ *ligible.*”

“ligible*.” Yet the language is surely very plain. The Queen says, that she could not have remedied a misfortune in her household, “without knowing it.” This is one of the plainest propositions, that ever were presented to the human mind. Yet the Remarker finds it “altogether unintelligible.”

Not to know me argues yourself unknown.

But the French alters this into a proposition, more intelligible to *him*; that she could not remedy it, without disclosing it to others. This is certainly not *more* intelligible. And it is *less* true. The next words shew it to be absolutely false. “I culd
“not have remeidit thairunto,” says the writer,
“without knawing it; and *sen* that *I persavit it*, I
“culd not tell it zow.”

(3) This presents us with a glorious flourish of the forger’s pen. Mary has the misfortune to find, that one of her maids of honour is with child, by a gentleman in her retinue. Bothwell hears of the fact, at the distance of Edinburgh or of Lydisdale. Court-scandal *then* flew with rapidity, it seems, without the aid of a *Morning Post* or an *English Chronicle*. Bothwell is much *hurt* at the news. The *adulterous* Bothwell is hurt at an intrigue of *fornication*, in the Queen’s family; in the family of that very Queen, *with whom* he is carrying on an adulterous intrigue. He is hurt too with an intrigue, in that very Margaret Carwood; who (according to Buchanan) “was previe and ane helper
“of all thair lufe †,” and had even been con-

* P. 26.

† Anderson, ii. 150.

cerned with the Queen and Lady Reres, in a kind of rape upon himself*. And the *plotting murderer*, even in the very moments of plotting, and nearly at the critical minute of the murder, writes in such sharp terms upon the fornication, to his partner in adultery and in murder; as forces her to break out abruptly, at the very commencement of her letter, in these terms of anguish, “my hart, alace! must the folly of ane woman be occasioun of displeasure unto zow?” This is certainly a note above *Ela*, in the scale of absurdity.

It appears however from this, that Mary has heard from Bothwell, while she resided at Glasgow. Yet how could she? He left her on Thursday January 23, at Kalendar. He returned that day to Edinburgh. He set off the next for Lydisdale. And he is still there. So absurd, upon every examination, does the chronology appear! But this is not all. Mary has received this letter since her last. The last was written the evening before she was to meet him. It was written late at night. She was to meet him the next day. She had heard from him then, to fix the appointment for next day. She has now heard from him since. She has therefore heard on Monday, the day she was to meet him, and the day that she actually left Glasgow. And she is writing to him, at the time that *by the letters* she should be with him, and at the time when she was *actually* on the road to, or now arrived at, Kalendar. So much *more* absurd does the chronology appear, upon further examination!

* Anderson, ii. 8, and Jebb, i. 240.

But Mary fays, that ſhe could not *tell* Bothwell of the intrigue, becauſe ſhe did not know how to act concerning it. Yet in the letter immediately preceding ſhe has informed us, that he had “ com-
“ manded,” and ſhe had “ promiſed,” neither to write nor ſend to him. The two paſſages are ſtrangely at variance. He “ commands” and ſhe “ promiſes” not to write or ſend. She adheres to the ſtipulation,—in writing *two* letters to him, and one an exceedingly long one. But ſhe had *then* forgotten the ſtipulation perhaps. She *at laſt* recollects it. She recollects it *to break it*. She mentions it, in the very inſtant ſhe is breaking it. The *third* letter records, at once, the promiſe and the violation. Nor does ſhe ſtop there. She breaks it a *fourth* time. She writes *four* letters in three days, when ſhe was commanded and had promiſed, not to write a line, and not even to ſend a meſſage. And ſhe does all this, not to conſult him upon any incidents, that had emerged ſince the command and the promiſe were given; but merely to proclaim the adultery, to inſinuate the murder, and to diſplay her wantonneſs, her wickedneſs, and her ſtupidity at once, in an *unſealed* letter.

(4) Thus is Mary made reſponſible to Bothwell, for the pettiest actions of her life. She cannot have the miſfortune of an intrigue in her court, but Bothwell rates her for it. She is taxed for not remedying it. She is condemned for not apprizing him of it, even when he himſelf had charged her not to write or ſend to him. She finds him in diſplea-
ſure

sure about it. She is much wounded in her feelings by all. And she deprecates his displeasure, in the lowest terms of humility. Yet Dr. Robertson, and Mr. Hume, could see the real Mary in all this. They could see no difference between a *Caliban* and a *man*. And even though the representation had been charged with still greater absurdities, if it was possible to charge it with greater; they would still (I fear) have reconciled themselves to the sight, and have still discovered all the natural proportions of the man, under the “gaberdine” of the monster.

II.—“ And gif ze do not send me word this
 “ nicht (1), quhat ze will that I fall do, I will red
 “ myself of it, and hasard to caus it to be interprysit
 “ and takin in hand; quhilk micht be hurtfull to
 “ that quhairunto baith we do tend (2). And
 “ quhen scho fall be maryit (2), I beseik zow to
 “ give me ane (3), or ellis I will tak sic as fall
 “ content zow for thair conditiounis (4); bot
 “ as for thair toungis or faithfulness towart zow, I
 “ will not answer.”

II.—“ Que si vous ne me mandez des nouvelles
 “ ceste nuit (1), de ce que voulez que je face, je
 “ m'en depescheray, et me hazarderay de l'entre-
 “ prendre; ce que pourroit nuire a ce que nous des-
 “ seignons tous deux (2). Et quand elle fera
 “ mariée (2), je vous prie de m'en donner une autre
 “ (3),

“ (3), ou bien j’en prendray quelqu’une, dont
 “ j’estime que la façon vous contentera (4); mais
 “ quant a leur langue et fidelité envers vous, je
 “ n’en voudroye pas respondre ”

(1) This letter then pretends, like the two parts of the first, and like the whole of the third, to be written in the night. It thus enables us to detect the imposture, even more clearly than we have already done. The first being written in the first two nights, those of Friday and Saturday; the third could not be written before Sunday night, or the fourth before *Monday night*. The last therefore was written from Glasgow, when by the *second* letter she was to be at Craigmillar near Edinburgh, and by the journal she was actually at Kalendar near Falkirk. And, to enhance the folly, she speaks of the night as already come, in calling it “ *this* night,” and yet desires Bothwell to send her word in “ *this* night;” when by the *third* letter he was to be with her at this very time, and by the journal he was actually in Lydisdale.

(2) This alludes to the maid of honour or her corrupter, or both, being privy to the adultery now carried on, and to the murder speedily intended. Margaret Carwood, says Buchanan, was deeply concerned in the adultery. But as the maid of honour is said before to have been one, whose unthankfulness to Mary was sufficiently known by Bothwell; and as the forced marriage could be offensive only to her corrupter; we must refer the

intimation to him. Accordingly, when Lenox, in his folly of relying upon anonymous accusations, specified some persons whom he suspected of the murder; he named "Seignior Francis Bastian*." When the rebels too, the very night of sending the Queen to Lochlevin, made a general search through the capital for the murderers of the king; Sebastian was seized among others, and committed to prison†. But he soon escaped out of it again; and he and his wife appear, no less than seventeen years afterwards, in attendance upon their Queen, during her melancholy imprisonment in England‡.

"I will red myself of it," Scotch; "je m'en depefcheray," French. The sense is, says the Miscellaneous Remarker, "*I will make haste to do it, that is, I will instantly dismiss the woman* §." And this is to be a probable proof, that the French is the original, and the Scotch a translation, against such an accumulation of evidences to the contrary. But the Scotch Mary says, that she will *rid herself* of the business, and the FRENCH Mary, that she will *dispatch* it. These are expressions too nearly alike, to found any criticisms upon a variation between them. Of the two, the Scotch is the most proper, as it is always used for a troublesome business. But the meaning of

* Anderson, i. 48.

† Crawford, 41.

‡ Crawford, 41; and Murdin, 438. See also a letter from her keeper, Paulet, Sept. 10th, 1586; in which he says of the Queen's servants, that "all, save *Bastiane*, are silly and simple souls, as there was no great cause to fear their practises" (Robertson, ii. 474).

§ Crawford, 26.

either is not, that she will instantly dismiss the woman; but that she will make the gentleman to marry her. The words immediately following, “and quhen scho fall be maryit,” shew this to be the meaning. But she says, that she will “hazard” to caus it to be interprysit and takin in hand,” Scotch; “me hazarderay de l’entreprendre,” French. “Where,” exclaims the Miscellaneous Remarker, “is the happy turn of phrase here! “Let any reader, conversant in the two languages, pronounce which is the original, and which the translation*.” We already know the Scotch to be the original, and the French the translation, even a translation from the Latin. We are not therefore left to such petty speculations as these, for the proof of the point. But, knowing it already, we think it of some use to set these objections aside with an easy hand. Mary says that, if she does not hear this night from Bothwell, she will undertake the business at her own hazard, and *cause* the matter to be enterprised and taken in hand. In other words, and freed from that obscurity which pervades all these letters, and which is the natural consequence of a forger’s fears, willing to speak out, and yet compelled to whisper; she says she will instantly send a message to Sebastian, and insist upon his marrying the maid of honour, even though she offend him by doing so, and lose his services in the projected murder. She would cause *the marriage* to be enterprized and taken in hand. That the second *it* refers to the marriage understood, is

* P. 26—27.

plain from the words immediately following, “ and
 “ quhen scho fall be maryit.” And yet the French,
 catching the real signification as little as the Re-
 marker, makes the Queen to “ hazard the enter-
 “ prizing of it,” to *hazard the marriage herself*.

(3) “ Ane,” Scotch; “ une autre,” French. The
addition here is noted by the Remarker*, as a
 proof of the originality of the French; when the
deduction was before. “ Thy truth, most mighty
 “ Lord,” said a madman once in defence of con-
 trary propositions, “ is on *every* side.”

(4) “ Conditounis,” Scotch; “ façon,” French.
 This is another of the Remarker’s proofs. The
 force of it lies only in his own prepossessions. He
 is to *prove* the French the original. Yet, *even amidst*
his proofs, he will *suppose* it to be so. And then every
 variation is an error in the Scotch. Such is this
 gentleman’s logic! “ Façon” is erroneously trans-
 lated “ conditounis:” ergo, &c. He was bred, I
 suspect, in the logical school of the Socinian PRIEST-
 LEY, and in the very *Antipodes* of all true reason-
 ing. *Conditions*, it is well known, meant formerly
 the manners or temper of a person. “ Conditiou-
 “ nis,” therefore, was probably translated *mores* by
 the Latin. And *mores* was rendered into “ façon”
 by the French. Such *derivative* absurdities we
 have frequently seen in the French before.

* P. 27.

III.—“ I beseik zow, yat ane opinioun of uther
 “ persoun (1) be not hurtfull in zour mynde to my
 “ constancie (2). Mistrust me; bot (3) quhen I
 “ will put zow out of doubt, and cleir myself, refuse
 “ it not my deir lufe (4); and suffer me to mak
 “ zow sum prufe be (5) my obedience, my (6)
 “ faithfulness, constancie, and voluntarie subje-
 “ ctioun, quhilk I tak for the pleasandest gude that I
 “ micht ressaif, gif ze will accept it, and mak na
 “ ceremonie at it (7); for ze culd do me na greiter
 “ outrage, nor gif mair mortall greif (8).”

III.—“ Je vous supplie, que l'opinion d'une
 “ autre (1) n'esloingne vostre affection de ma con-
 “ stance (2). Vous messiez vous de moy (3), qui
 “ vous veux mettre hors de doute, et declarer mon
 “ innocence, o ma chere vie (4), ne le refusez pas;
 “ et ne souffrez que je vous donne espreuve de (5)
 “ mon obeissance (6), fidelité, constance, et volon-
 “ taire subjection, que je prend a tres grand plaisir,
 “ autant que je le puis avoir, si vous l'acceptez sans
 “ ceremonie (7); car vous ne me scauriez faire
 “ plus grand outrage, ny offence plus mortelle (8).”

(1) Lady Bothwell's opinion of Mary's incon-
 stancy.

(2) “ Be not hurtfull in zour mynde to my con-
 “ stance,” Scotch; that is, do not injure the credit

of my constancy in your good opinion. Yet the French renders the clause, “ n’elloingne vostre affection de ma constance,” that is, do not *alienate* your *affection from* my constancy; a mode of expression, if any way proper in itself, certainly very improper as a version of the Scotch.

(3) “ Mistrust me; bot quhen,” Scotch; “ vous messiez vous de moy, qui,” French. The French, says Miscellaneous Remarker*, “ is as clear as words can be, when the thing alluded to is not certainly known;” and the Scotch, he adds, is “ words without energy, and indeed without meaning.” The sense of the Scotch is this: mistrust me if you will, but do not deny me the favour of clearing myself, and removing all your doubts. I know not, what “energy” there is in this; but there is “a meaning” in it. Let us, therefore, now compare the French with the Scotch. You distrust me, it says, who would remove your doubts. Here the meaning is equally good, though somewhat different. But let us pursue the line of sense to the end. “ Vous messiez vous de moy, qui vous veuX mettre hors de doute, et declarer mon innocence, o ma chere vie, ne le refusez pas.” Here, for want of the words in the Scotch, “ bot quhen,” and so by turning “ I” into “ qui;” the thread of connection is broken, and the sentence limps upon its legs. Yet the French, says the Remarker, “ is as clear as words can be,” and the Scotch is “ without meaning.”

* P. 27.

(4) “ My

(4) “My deir lufe,” Scotch; “ma chere vie,” French. Here the Remarker might have seen *in his own way*, which was the original, and which was the translation. “Vie” could never be mistaken for “amie,” but “lufe” might easily be mistaken for “life.” The Latin read the Scotch wrong, rendered it *vita*, and so gave “vie” to the French.

(5) “Be my obedience,” Scotch; “*de mon obeissance*,” French. But let us mark the train of ideas here. Mary beseeches him not to think ill of her *constancy*, “be not hurtfull in zour mynde to my CONSTANCIE.” He may mistrust her *constancy*, she says, but when she attempts to vindicate it, she begs he will hear her; and suffer her to shew her *constancy* in her conduct to him. “Suffer me to mak zow sum prufe,” she says, “be my obedience, my faithfulness, CONSTANCIE, and voluntarie subjection.” She thus requests to give a proof of her constancy—by her constancy.

(6) “My,” Scotch, omitted in French.

(7) “Si vous l’acceptez fans ceremonie,” says Remarker *, “is thus ungracefully rendered, “gif ze will accept it, and mak na ceremonie at it.” So trifling is this author, in his probable proofs for the originality of the French! If any real or supposed *ungracefulness* of language, would prove the point even probably; it could not have borne a moment’s argumentation. Could that balance re-

* P. 27.

main long unsettled, which a mote would turn? Yet even these motes are more in the mind's eye, than in reality. The present particularly is. If the Scotch had been, "gif ze will accept it *bat ony* ceremony;" it would have been a little, and only a little, more *compact*, but not more graceful, than it is at present. And then the French would have been literally conformable to it.

(8) This is surely the very *bathos* of humiliation. Mary is made to declare, that for Bothwell to *let* her give *some* proof of her love, by her *obedience*, *faithfulness*, *constancy*, and *voluntary subjection*, she shall take for the greatest happiness that she can receive; and that if he makes *any* hesitation about accepting this proof, it will be to her the greatest of all possible outrages, and the sharpest of all possible sorrows. This is love "mounted to the lunar sphere" at once. And it will appear peculiarly so, when we reflect; that this is said *during the life of her husband*, without any reserve concerning his death, and without one anticipation of approaching widowhood.

Let me add also, with regard to the main incident in the present letter, that this alone serves to prove the forgery. The marriage of Francis Sebastian, is certainly the marriage alluded to. The coincidence of the first and fourth letter shews it. But then the first shews the fourth to be spurious. The fourth represents the marriage, as only intended now for the first time, as intended now from a sudden and recent discovery, as hardly yet intended fully and absolutely,

folutely, and as unknown, even in the very cause and principle of all, to Bothwell himself. Yet the first shews the marriage, to be *then* intended, to be *then* known to be so, and to be known even to the King and to Bothwell. And the contradiction betrays the imposture effectually.

§ IV.

I have thus gone over the letters from Glasgow. That they are fictitious; is too plain, I apprehend, to be doubted at present by any man of common sense. The evidence in this volume alone, is sufficient to convict them of imposture, in the eyes of all the world. The chronology, particularly, must stand as a deep and broad brand of knavery upon their front, to the end of time. But to make the brand still broader and deeper, let us attend to another chronology. This is contained in the *second* of the pretended confessions of Paris, which was peculiarly drawn up in order to strengthen the letters*, and ought therefore to be considered together with them †. Mr. Tytler had the honour of first opening this source of information, against the letters; but afterwards closed it again, by withdrawing his remarks in a succeeding edition of his work ‡. I intend to break up the fountain a second time, and then trace the current to its termination. And, by doing this, I shall at once confirm the spuriousness of the letters, and prove that of the confession itself.

* Goodall, ii. 88.

† See it in Goodall, ii. 76—79.

‡ See his Appendix, N^o ii. superseded in 3d edition by other papers.

Nicholas Hubert, commonly called French Paris, or only Paris, entered first into credit with the Queen, as he tells us himself, “entra en credit avec la Royne;” when she was at Kalendar on her way to Glasgou, “comme la Royne fust a Kalendar allant a Glasgou.” This was, by the rebel journal, on Thursday January 23, 1566-7. She then gave him a purse, with three or four hundred crowns in it; to be carried by him to Bothwell. This was done upon the road betwixt Kalendar and Glasgou, “sur le chemin entre Kalendar et Glasgou.” But why was it given him *there*? To make haste after Bothwell, to be sure; to overtake him on his return to Edinborough; and so do, what the Queen ought to have done in the morning at Kalendar, before he left her. Yet this was *not* the design, it seems. The purse was given to Paris upon the road, not to post with it immediately after Bothwell; but—to carry it *whither the Queen herself was going, to Glasgou*; and merely to save *her* the trouble, of carrying thither so many hundred crowns in her own pocket. And this was done *openly*, and in the presence of all her retinue, “sur le chemin;” though she had gentlemen and ladies in her train, Joseph the brother of David Rizzio, Francis Sebastian, Joachim, and her maids of honour.

Paris thus attended her Majesty, as her privy purse, to Glasgou. “La Royne estant arrivée a Glasgou,” he staid there two days for a letter, which she said she would send by him to Bothwell. “Ayant demeuré là DEUX jours avec la dicte dame, laquelle escript des lettres, et a luy les
“ bailla,

“ bailla, dysant, Vous dires de bouche a Monf. de
 “ Boduel, que,” &c. He staid therefore at Glas-
 gow, *Friday* the 24th and *Saturday* the 25th of Ja-
 nuary, before he set off with any letter to Bothwell.
 This agrees exactly, as we have seen before, with
 the internal chronology of the *first* letter. And it
 overthrows the date of the *second* decisively. Paris
 says himself, that he set not off with the *first* before
 Sunday morning, THE DAY AFTER the date of the
second.

With this letter he set out. He reached Edin-
 borough. He does not say *when*. But it could
 not be till *Monday*. The distance between Glas-
 gow and Edinborough, by the route which was ge-
 nerally pursued then, and through Stirling*, is 66
 miles, I believe. And it appears from the circum-
 stances to have been, what from the season of the
 year, and state of the weather, it might well be; the
 former being “ the deip of a scharpe wynter,” as
 Buchanan has told us before, and the latter being
 “ the extremitie of this stormy weather,” as Lenox
 has equally told us; the *evening* of Monday, before
 he arrived. For he delivers the letter; and the
 next day, “ le lendemain,” comes three several
 times, at eight, nine, and ten in the morning, for
 the answer to it. Yet Mary is made in the *second*
 letter, dated *Saturday morning*, to expect his arrival
then; though he was not then GONE, though he set

* The Queen went this road. Lenox went it, when on his
 way from Glasgow he stopt short at Stirling, and requested the
 Queen to defer the trial of Bothwell (Anderson, i. 54). And
 Mary and Darnly went it before, and also returned along it, with
 their army (Knox, 381 and 383).

not off till *Sunday* morning, though he was at Edinborough on *Tuesday*, and though he could not be back till *Wednesday*.

But Paris says, that, on his arrival at Edinborough, he found Bothwell in his lodgings at Holyrood house; “arrivé a Lislebourg, trouvé le dict de Boduel en son logis a l’abbay.” He saw him, however, by the aid only of second sight. The Frenchman had been so far naturalized, as to be admitted to this, the appropriated privilege of a Scot. By the aid of those magick spectacles, he saw Bothwell in his lodgings, conversed with him that day, again saw and again conversed with him the next. And yet, all the while, Bothwell was in a distant region, many miles from Edinborough, and upon the confines of England. On *Friday* the 24th in the evening, Bothwell set off from Edinborough for Lydisdale; and did not set off on his return from Lydisdale, till *Tuesday* January 28th.

On *Tuesday* however, at eight, nine, and ten in the morning successively, Paris went to his lodgings at Holyrood-house, where he thought he had seen and talked with him the night before. But he could not find him now. At last he found him in the High Town near Kirk-a-field, accompanied by a number of gentlemen, walking side by side with Sir James Balfour, and going to dine with Sir James. Paris addressed him, as actually Bothwell; and desired *before all the gentlemen*, to be dispatched to the Queen. And the spectre answered, just as if it had been Bothwell. “Après dîner, dit il, je
“feray.”

“feray.” After dinner, therefore, Paris came again; “il retourna querir sa despeche apres disner.” Bothwell wrote his letter; and Paris is sure that he wrote it with his own hand, “escrivit de sa propre main.” So much were his senses imposed upon! The deception, indeed, was very extraordinary. Bothwell appeared, spoke, and wrote. A real hand, and a real pen, seemed to be employed in the work. Real ink, and real paper, seemed to be used by him. And, when he had done, he seemed to say, “Voila la responce, retourne t’en a la Royne, et me re-commandes bien humblement a sa bonne grace,” &c. This was as courteous a ghost, as that of Sir Charles Grandison’s to Mrs. Shirley. Yet it could not possibly be any thing, but a ghost. The true, the genuine Bothwell, the ψυχη and the σωμα of Bothwell, were at this very time a number of miles off; while the shade, the εδωλον, of Bothwell, was mimicking him at Edinborough, and calling up the apparitions of pen, ink, and paper, to assist in the mummary. And it is no wonder, that such a simpleton as Murray’s Paris, was imposed upon by the visionary forms; when the disquisitive Berkeley has *so fully convinced the world*, that papers, pens, ink, and men, are all in their truest appearances a mere delusion, and merely spectres of the things which they represent.

Paris then went to Lethington, to whom was a letter inclosed in Bothwell’s. Yet *our* letter to Bothwell *has strangely forgot to notice it*. She also sent (says Paris) a message by him to Lethington and Bothwell together, to know whether the King should

should lodge at Kirk-a-field or at Craigmillar. Yet the same letter *has strangely forgot to notice this too*. It only refers to the bearer, about the lodging at Edinburgh. And it refers to Bothwell alone, not Lethington and him together, even upon this head. It even contradicts the confession directly; since it speaks of the lodging *at Edinburgh* positively, and speaks of it as *positively appointed already*. Paris, however, reports the message to Lethington. Lethington answers it, though Bothwell did not. “Le dict Liddington lui respondit, que le Kirk-de-
 “field seroit bon, et le dict Sieur de Boduel et lui
 “avoient advisé ensemble là-dessus.” Lethington also writes a letter to the Queen, though *she* gives no hint of such a letter in *her own* from Glasgow. Bothwell also sends a diamond to her, with a gallant speech, that he would send her his heart if he had it in his own possession; and yet the *Queen* is even so uncourteous, as to take no more notice of *either*, than of Lethington’s letter. And Paris departs on his return for Glasgow, some time after dinner on *Tuesday* January 28.

The Queen, by the declaration of her own designs in letter the second, and by the journal which the rebels made of her actual movements, left Glasgow on *Monday* January 27. Yet she previously received a letter, which she answered in her third, and in which Bothwell had shewed “sa mony
 “contrary suspiciounis” of her, though he promised to meet her “the morne” or next day. But here Paris’s confession and the rebel journal agree together, and pronounce the reception of *such a*
 2 letter

letter to be IMPOSSIBLE. She must have received it before *Monday*; and Paris did not leave Edinburgh with a reply to her *first* letter, before *Tuesday* in the afternoon. Nor is this all. Mary received, not only this, but a second letter, from Bothwell; one, in which he expressed his displeasure at her, for the misfortune in one of her maids of honour. And the strong bond of IMPOSSIBILITY is broken through, a second time. She expects an answer to her first, she receives one, and she receives an answer to her second; A WHOLE DAY before Paris, the bearer of the first, and the re-bearer of the reply to it, has even *arrived* at Edinburgh with the *first*; A DAY AND A HALF, before he *sets out* from Edinburgh with the *reply*; and consequently THREE DAYS, before he could reach her with it.

He set out on his return, “partit pour s’en aller
“a Glasgow vers la Royne.” He arrived at Glasgow. He waited upon the Queen. He reported the message. He delivered the letters. And he afterwards returned from Glasgow to Kalendar, with the King and Queen; “retournoit de Glascow vers
“Lislebourg avec le Roy a Kallander.” He reached Glasgow therefore, on WEDNESDAY NIGHT, January 29th. He could not reach it before. Yet he *found* the King and Queen *there*. And thus they, who certainly left Glasgow on *Monday*, were there, by Paris’s forged depositions, on the WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY following.

On the way betwixt Glasgow and Kalendar, he says, he was addressed by a messenger of Bothwell’s, who

delivered *him* a letter to present to the Queen, instead of presenting it to her himself. This was intended, no doubt, as an answer to her *second*; and to be the very letter, to which she replies in her *fourth*. But it reached her, we see, *not* at *Glasgow*, but *on the road* betwixt it and *Kalendar*. And it met her, when by the *third* letter Bothwell himself was to have met her. She answered it, says Paris, upon the road betwixt *Kalendar* and *Glasgow*, “en al-
“lant;” and sent a *ring* with it. Yet NO SUCH ANSWER WAS EVER SENT. *The rebel journal rejects it.* Neither the *ten* nor the *eight*, neither the *Scotch* nor the *French* list of letters, *will admit it for one of their number.* And it peculiarly cannot be that, which yet it peculiarly means to be, the fourth. When *this* was written, Bothwell was *very near to her*; because he was to send her word, as she says, “this
“nicht,” concerning one of her maids of honour. But Bothwell was at *Edinburgh*, when the letter with the ring was sent. And indeed he appears from Paris’s confession, and the rebel journal, respectively; to have come *no nearer than Edinburgh* to her, all the while she was at *Glasgow*.

Paris set out with the King and Queen from *Glasgow* for *Kalendar*, at soonest by his own account, on THURSDAY, January the 30th; when the King and Queen actually set out on MONDAY, January 27th. He accompanied them to *Linlithgow*, by his own chronology, on FRIDAY January 31st, “*apres la Royne et le Roy estans a Lythgow;*” when in fact they reached the town, on TUESDAY January 28th. But there the Queen had a mind to

send Gilbert Curle to Edinborough, whom Paris asserts to have been a groom of her chamber, “va-
 “ let de chambre;” though the first letter intimates, that both he and Paris were *private secretaries* to her *. So much do the letters and the confession disagree, in the slightest points! He was to see, whether the house allotted for the King was prepared for his reception. But she afterwards sent John Hay in his stead, to Bothwell. And *after* him, “en apres aussi,” she dispatched Paris with some bracelets to Bothwell; as if Paris, who carried the bracelets, could not also have carried the letter. *This* letter is evidently what is noticed in the rebel journal, when it says; that “she remayned
 “ all day in Linlythquow with the King, and *wraytt*
 “ *from thence to Bothwell.*” But the *bracelets* are the same, that are mentioned in the *first* letter. Such a disagreement is there again! These Paris carried to Bothwell at Edinborough; “le
 “ dict Paris, arrivant a Lislebourg, lui baille les
 “ brasselets.” He found him just going to mount his horse, in order to meet the King and Queen. Paris accompanied him. And they conducted the King, to his lodgings at Kirk-a-field.

This is the journal extracted from Paris’s second confession. It goes directly against the rebel journal. Both go directly against the letters. And, in such frail fabricks of chronology as these are, the best way of destroying them all, is to dash them one against the other. That the rebels, however, should have formed no less than THREE systems of chrono-

* Sect. 6.

logy, and all clashing with each other; is an amazing incident in the annals of human folly. It shews the natural infatuation of impiety, in very strong colours. But it also shews something more. It lays open to the eye of FAITH, the providential spirit of GOD, controuling the operations of villainy, by curbing its exertions of intellect; depressing the powers of the mind, to circumscribe the sphere of imposition; and even stimulating the soul to measures, that should finally blast its efforts. Had we not possessed this confession of Paris, we should have lost some good proofs against the authenticity of the letters. Had we not possessed the rebel journal, we should have been deprived of some of our best evidences against both. Yet these two papers were supplied by the rebels themselves. Murray sent up the confession. Murray presented the journal. Both were delivered in to the commissioners of England, and so were transmitted to the present times. They were delivered, in order to support the cause of the letters, to confirm their authenticity, and to sanction their veracity. And yet the seeds of detection were sowed deep in the ground of both, ready to come forth, whenever they were invited by a spirit of fair enquiry, and sure to cover the letters which they were to befriend, with perpetual shame and infamy.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

§ I.

LETTER THE FIFTH (1).

I.—“ Allace ! my lord, quhy is zour traist put in
 “ ane persoun sa unworthie, to mistrast that quhilke
 “ is haillely zouris ? I am wod (2). Ze had pro-
 “ missit me, that ze wald resolve all (3), and that ze
 “ wald send me word every day (4) quhat I
 “ suld do. Ze haif done nathing yairof (5). I ad-
 “ vertisit zow weill (6), to tak heid of zour fals
 “ brother-in-law : he come to me, and without
 “ schawing me ony thing from zow (7), tald me
 “ that ze had willit him to wryte to zow that,”

I.—“ Monsieur, hélas ! pourquoi est vostre fi-
 “ ance mise en personne si indigne, pour soupçon-
 “ ner ce qui est entierement vostre ? J'enrage (2).
 “ Vous m'aviez promis, que vous vous resouldriez
 “ en toutes choses (3), et que chacun jour (4)
 “ vous m'envoieriez dire ce que j'auroye a faire.
 “ Vous n'en avez rien fait (5). Je vous veux
 “ bien

“ bien advertir (6), que vous preniez bien garde a
 “ vostre desloyal beau-frere: il vint vers moy,
 “ fans me faire apparostre que c'estoit de vostre
 “ part (7), et me dit que vous l'aviez”

(1) We are now come to the letters from Stirling. Of these the rebel journal speaks thus: “ April 21 [1567], viz. Mounday, the Quene raid
 “ to Stirling, and from thence wreyt the letteris
 “ concerning—hir ravishing—.” And that here they begin, is plain from the tenour of the present letter. In the English Detection of Buchanan, in which the letters were published for the first time all together, the fifth letter, as the first from Stirling, bears this title; “ ane uther letter send fra Striviling to
 “ Bothwell, concerning the practice for hir ravishment.” Then comes the sixth with this title; “ ane uther letter to Bothwell, for the practise and
 “ devise to excuse the ravishing.” The seventh follows with this; “ ane uther letter to Bothwell of
 “ ye practice of hir ravishment, and to advise him
 “ to be strong to do it*.” And the eighth, as I have noticed before, is strangely thrown in among the Glasgow letters, and made the third of them; when it is plainly one of the Stirling, and an anticipation of the approaching seizure and marriage.

(2) For remarks upon this, see Section II.

(3) He had promised her, it seems, to resolve all. But what needed to be resolved? NOTHING. The plan of seizure was already settled, say the re-

* Anderson, ii. 151—155.

bels. And therefore nothing could remain to be settled, at present. "The Quene raid to Stirling," says the rebel journal, "*as it wes devysit*; and from thence wreyt the letteris, concerning the *purpose devysit of hir ravisbing*," meaning her seizure.—"That ze wald resolve all," Scotch; "*que vous vous resouldriez en toutes chesfes*," French. The Scotch says, that Bothwell had promised to resolve all difficulties for her, which should arise in their intended enterprize, and to send her word from time to time, how she should act in them; and that he had not done this. But the French asserts, that he had promised to *resolve himself* in them all; which is very different in its import, and contrary to the two clauses immediately following. And yet the Miscellaneous Remarker produces the variation without adverting to the sense at all, as a probable proof that the French was the original*.

(4) This is another argument of the forgery. She says, that Bothwell had promised to send her word "every day," what she should do. How many days then was she to stay at Stirling, to admit of this address from Bothwell to her "every day?" She was to stay just *one day and two nights*. She was to reach Stirling on Monday. She was to leave it on Wednesday. And thus the long train of days is shrunk up, into little more than four and twenty hours; like the Iliad compressed into a nut-shell.

* P. 27.

(5) Both-

(5) Bothwell has not executed his promise, it seems. He has not resolved all the difficulties for her, and sent her word "every day" what she should do. But how *could* he? She left him in the morning. She is writing to him in the evening. And what difficulties could he resolve for her in the interval? At this part of the letter, forgery faces us in every line, and almost in every word.

(6) "Advertisit weill," Scotch, "veux bien advertir," French. The Scotch speaks, says the Remarker, "as if the supposed writer of this letter referred to what she had *formerly said*, instead of "introducing," as the French does, "a subject *for the first time* *." But the French is wrong, and the Scotch right. Mary is not introducing a subject for the first time. She refers to what she had formerly said. She is mentioning the neglects of Bothwell. He had promised to give her instructions from day to day; but he had not done it. She had warned him to beware of confiding in his brother-in-law; and yet he has confided in him. He has sent him to her too, without any token from himself. He has sent him to confer with her, on the business of their grand enterprize.

(7) This is another evidence of the forgery. The brother-in-law of Bothwell was Huntly, we know. He was at Edinburgh, on the Saturday night before. That day his forfeiture was taken off by the parliament †. That night also, say the

* P. 27.

† Goodall, ii. 141 and 249.

rebels themselves, “before the lords had such war-
 “rant [from the Queen], there was none of them
 “that did or wold set their hands [to the famous
 “bond], saving onlie the Earl of Huntlie*.” And
 he actually appears, as a subscriber to the bond †.
 He was therefore in Edinburgh on the 19th of
 April, the day but one before the Queen set out for
 Stirling. Yet he *came* to the Queen *at* Stirling,
 says the letter. The rebel journal also speaks of
 Stirling and of him, as the place “quhair Huntly
 “*came to hir.*” Yet, as this is only Monday even-
 ing, how could he come to her? She had left
 Edinburgh only that morning. He must have
 left it that morning too, as she complains that he
 had brought her no tokens from Bothwell. How
 then could he come to her? He actually AT-
 TENDED HER THITHER. He actually STAID WITH
 HER THERE. He actually ACCOMPANIED HER BACK
 AGAIN. The proofs of these points will be dwelt
 upon, as the proving passages occur in the letters.
 And he might well, therefore, bring her no tokens
 from Bothwell or any one else.

“that I suld say (1); and quhair and quhen ze suld
 “cum to me (2); and that, that ze suld do tuiching
 “him (3): and thairupon hes preichit (4) unto
 “me; yat it was ane fulische interpryse; and that
 “with myne honour I culd never marry zow, seing
 “that being maryit ze did cary me away (5); and

* Appendix, N° v,
 son, i. 112.

† Keith, 382—383, and Ander-

“yat

“yat his folkis wald not suffer it (6); and that the
 “lordis wald unsay yamefelfis, and wald deny that
 “thay had said (7). To be schort, he is all con-
 “trarie. I tald him, that séing I was cum fa far,
 “gif ze did not withdraw zoursel of zoursel, that
 “na perswasoun, nor deith itself, suld mak me fail
 “of my pomeis.”

“requis, qu’il vous escrivit ce que je vous voudroye
 “dire (1); et où et quand je pourroye aller a
 “vous (2); et ce que vous deliberiez faire de luy
 “(3): et sur cela il me remonstra (4), que c’estoit
 “une folle entreprise; et que pour mon honneur je
 “ne vous pouvoye prendre a mary, puis que vous
 “estiez marié, ny aller avec vous (5); et que ses
 “gens mesmes ne le suffriroient pas (6); voir que
 “les seigneurs contrediroient a ce que en feroit
 “proposé (7). Bref, il semble qu’il nous soit du
 “tout contraire. Je luy respondy, veu que j’en
 “estoye venue si avant, que si vous ne vous re-
 “tractiez, nulle persuation, non pas mesmes la
 “mort, me feroit manquer a ma promesse.”

(1) The clause means obviously all, that Mary should say to Huntly. This is what Huntly was to write to Bothwell. But the French alters it, into what Mary *wanted to say* to Bothwell, “ce que je vous voudroye dire.”

(2) Huntly was to settle with Mary, “quhair and quhen” Bothwell was to meet her and seize her. Yet this surely must have been settled before. Common-sense tells us it must. And, as the jour-
 nal

nal assures us it was, so *these letters never settle it.*—
 “*Ze fuld cum to me,*” Scotch; “*je pourroye aller*
 “*a vous,*” French. The latter has changed the
 person; and made Mary to come, and (in the
Scotch sense of the words) *ravish* Bothwell.

(3) Huntly was to settle with the Queen, and then to inform Bothwell, how Bothwell was to act concerning Huntly, in this business of the seizure. This is clearly the sense. Yet the Remarker, with his usual indistinctness of ideas, says thus: “If this
 “be joined with “*qu’il vous escrivit,*” it may
 “seem impossible to explain, how the Earl of Both-
 “well should have desired the Earl of Huntly to
 “write to him, what use he, Bothwell, proposed, to
 “make of him, Huntly. But “*me dit*” must be
 “joined with “*ce que vous deliberiez faire de*
 “*luy;*” and the sense is, that Huntly told the
 “Queen, or that the writer of the letter meant to
 “have it supposed that Huntly told the Queen,
 “what use Bothwell intended to make of him
 “in the project of the *enlevement* *.” He thus,
 if I may be allowed to *compress his sense into percep-*
tibility, makes Huntly to tell Mary from Bothwell,
 what use Bothwell intended to make of Huntly in
 the seizure. But Huntly was to settle with Mary,
 and then to inform Bothwell, *not* what use Bothwell,
 intended to make of Huntly, *but* how Bothwell was
 to act with regard to Huntly at the seizure.
 Huntly was to be her *escort*. The difficulty was,
 how she was to be seized, and yet the seizure throw
 no reflection upon her *escort*. This difficulty was to

* P. 28.

be removed, by the conference between Mary and Huntly. And Bothwell was to act accordingly.

(4) "Preichit," Scotch; "remonstra," French. The latter loses the spirit of the former. To *preach* in conversation, had *then* the same sense as it has now. Thus in Paris's *first* confession, as it stands translated in Calderwood's MS history, Bothwell says to Paris on his objecting to the murder of the King, with all the pertness of a modern knave; "wouldst thou *preach* *?"

(5) "The Scottish copy," says Mr. Goodall, "makes the Queen use [report] these words to the earl. This being a plain anticipation, in speaking of the earl's rape [seizure] of the Queen as past, which had not yet happened; the cautious translators," the Latin and the French, "thought fit to throw it out, and instead of the last five words *ze did cary me away*, we find the words, *ny aller avec vous*, in the French †." "This is ingenious," the Remarker observes; but it "will not," he thinks, "stand the test of sober criticism." His reasons for it are these. I must give them nearly in their full length, that he may be seen in his just proportions. "If it appear from any one passage of the letter in question, that the French is the original and the Scottish a translation; the hypothesis of Mr. Goodall falls to the ground. Besides, Lord Huntley is supposed in the Scottish copy, to remonstrate to the Queen against her rash and ill-advised undertaking, *une folle entreprise*," as if *these words* and the *remonstrance* were

* Goodall, i. 139.

† Ibid. i. 98.

in the *Scottish* copy; “that is, her purpose of being
“carried off as by force, and then of marrying
“Bothwell: yet the very next words imply, that
“Bothwell had already carried her off; and it is
“added, that even the vassals and dependants of
“Lord Huntley would not suffer it, that is, would
“not concur in the enterprize. All this is so mon-
“strously absurd, that we cannot suppose it to have
“been contained in a real letter; and still less, if
“possible, can we ascribe it to the invention of the
“enemies of Queen Mary, who, however wicked
“they might have been, were certainly intelligent
“and judicious. *It should seem*, that the Scottish
“translator either fell into an error, through his
“scanty knowledge of the French language; or
“that, from a less pardonable cause, he endea-
“voured to touch up and improve the origi-
“nal*.” What then is the conclusion of all this?
Is Mr. Goodall’s supposition to stand or to fall? It
is not to stand. Yet who has seen it fall? The
gentleman has so long habituated himself, to the
contemplation of his own ideas; that he seems to
pay little respect to those of others. He is to *prove*
the Scotch a translation. Yet he always *supposes*
it, as he moves along. And he refers to this sup-
position at every turn, as the ground-work of all his
assertions, and as the pillar of all his conjectures.
Thus, when the French has varied so widely from
the Scotch, and for so important a reason as is sug-
gested by Mr. Goodall; he, acting under the me-
chanical influence of his own prepossessions, steps

forward to *assume* what he is at that very moment labouring to prove, condemns the Scotch for deviating so much from the French, hints at the Scotch translator's ignorance of the French, and even throws out strong insinuations against his honesty. Just so may we conceive a child, after gazing fondly upon the scenery displayed in the reflection of a clear river,

The pendent forests, and the downward skies;
and then drawing off his eye for a moment;
to be surprized at the sight of woods shooting upward, and to stare at the absurdity of a sky over his head. And the whole difficulty of the passage lies in this. The seizure has not yet been made. Huntly even says, that his men will not suffer it to be made. And he declares, even if it had been made, Mary could not with honour marry Bothwell, because Bothwell was a married man at the seizure. This declaration, though it respects the future time, is yet, by an anticipation which is common to all languages, spoken of in terms of the past. Hence it is coupled with clauses all in the future. Such anticipations are never more than momentary. The mind immediately returns to its settled modes of speech. And a sentence becomes in that case just as our present one is, with one word of past time, and with other words of future on each side of it. He "preichit unto me," says Mary, "yat it *was*
" ane fulische interpryse; and that with myne ho-
" nour I *culd* never marry zow, seing that being
" maryit ze *did* cary me away;" catching the anticipation from the idea of the future marriage, to which the seizure must have been prior; "and yat
" his

“ his folkis *wald* not suffer it; and that the Lordis
 “ *wald* unsay yameselfis, and *wald* deny that thay
 “ had said.” But the Latin, and the French after
 it, not seeing this explanation of the difficulty, and
 unwilling to adopt the seeming contradiction; left
 out the exceptionable passage, and boldly substi-
 tuted another in its room. Mary, who before could
 not with honour marry Bothwell after the seizure,
 because he would have then seized her while he yet
 had a wife; now could not marry him, because he
 has already a wife, and *could not go with him*, “ ny
 “ aller avec vous.”

(6) “ His folkis,” Scotch; “ *ses gens mesmes*,”
 French. This shews Huntly to have had his re-
 tainers, with him. “ *Wald* not suffer it.” This
 shews Huntly and his retainers, to be the Queen’s
 guard.

(7) This is thrown in, because the lords *did* un-
 say themselves, and *did* deny that which they had
 said. But the anticipation of the fact proves the
 forgery. No friend of Mary’s could *then* foresee,
 that the majority of the lords would go so directly
 against their solemn subscriptions, as they did after-
 wards. Huntly could least of all have foreseen it
then, as (according the rebel account) he was the
 very first man who signed*. We all bind ourselves,
 they say, that we “ fall tak pairt—and fortifie the
 “ said erle to the said mariage, so farr as it may
 “ please their soverane lady to allow; and thairin
 “ fall spend and bestow our lives and guidis, againis
 “ *all that leve or die may*, as we fall anser to

* Appendix, N^o v.

“ God,

“ God, and upon our awin fidelities and consciencie;
 “ and in caise we doe in the contrare, *nevir to have*
 “ *reputation or credite in na tyme heirefter*, but to
 “ be *accounted unworthie and faithles traytors**.”

Yet Morton, Lindsay, Glencairn, the Bishop of Orkney, and a variety of others; as soon as ever the marriage had been forced upon Mary, by the enginry of this bond; directly broke through all their “ fidelities and conscience,” directly flew in the face of that GOD to whom they had bound themselves to “ anser,” directly condemned themselves “ ne-
 “ vir to have reputatioun or credite in na tyme
 “ heirefter, and directly branded themselves in the sight of GOD and man for “ unworthie and
 “ faithles traytors.” But this is such a pitch of wickedness, as no *honest* sagacity could have foreseen. It was too monstrous to be expected, by any *but villains as great as themselves*.

“ The lordis wald unsay yamefelfis, and wald
 “ deny that they had said,” Scotch; “ voire que les
 “ seigneurs contrediroient a ce que en feroit pro-
 “ posé,” French. “ Here the translator,” says the Remarker concerning the Scotch original, “ seems
 “ to have guessed, that the expression alluded to
 “ *Ainslie’s supper*, and to the famous bond of the
 “ nobility; and, on that mistaken guess, to have
 “ formed his translation †.” Into what a labyrinth has the author led himself, by his boldness in *arro-*
gating the very point, which he pretends to prove! He seems to have studied the ingenious Mr. Hil-
 drop’s new system of logick, in which the PETITIO

* Anderson, ii. 110—111.

† P. 30.

PRINCIPLE, that proscribed fallacy of the schools, is converted into a true principle of reasoning—for a deist, and honoured with a very particular distinction. The French translation is thus mounted into an original. And the Scotch original is thus depressed into a version. The latter alludes to the bond of association. This he saw. Yet he would not see it. The French had not seen it. This was enough for him. He therefore rambles with the French, to make the lords contradict *what shall be proposed*, concerning the seizure: as if the seizure was *now* to be proposed to the lords. And, sense or nonsense, he swallows it all, if it is but administered in a vehicle of French.

II.—“ As touching the place, ze are tó negligent, pardoun me, to remit zourselſ thair of unto me. Cheis it zourselſ, and send me word of it (1); and in the meane tyme I am seik, I will differ, as, touching the matter, it is tó lait (2). It was not lang of me, zat ze have not thocht thair upon in time (3). And gif ze had not mair changeit zour mynd sen myne absence, then I have (4), ze suld not be now to ask sic resolving. Weill (5), thair wantis nathing of my part;”

II.—“ Touchant la place, pardonnez moy, si je vous dy que vous estes trop negligent de vous, remettre a moy. Choississez-la donc vous-mesmes,

“ mesmes, et m'en advertissez (1); cependant je
 “ ne suis a mon aise, car il est ja trop tard (2).
 “ Et n'a pas tenu a moy, que vous n'y ayez pensé
 “ de bonne heure (3). Et si vous n'eussiez changé
 “ d'opinion depuis mon absence, non plus que
 “ moy (4), vous ne demanderiez maintenant d'en
 “ estre résolu (5). Tant y a qu'il n'y a point de-
 “ faute de ma part; et”

(1) From this passage, we must suppose Mary and Bothwell not to have yet settled the *place* of the seizure. Huntly was accordingly to ascertain the “ quhair” with her. Yet he does *not* ascertain it. Bothwell refers it to Mary. And Mary refers it back to Bothwell. All this is a positive proof of the forgery. The time of Mary's stay at Stirling, did not admit of either of these references. The *place* was also as much ascertained, as the seizure. For this we have the authority of Buchanan himself. And Mary, he tells us expressly, had settled with Bothwell *before she left Edinburgh*, that he should seize her *at Almond Bridge*, and thence carry her off: “ *antequam Edimburgo discessisset, cum eo*
 “ *transfegerat, ut ipse revertentem ad Almonis Pon-*
 “ *tem eam raperet, ac secum quó vellet, velut per*
 “ *vim, abduceret*.*” Here, therefore, is a plain proof of forgery.

(2) “ In the meane tyme I am seik, I will differ,
 “ as, touching the matter, it is to lair.” This

* Hist. xviii. 356. Knox also says, p. 405, that Bothwell
 “ meets the Quene, according to apoyntment betwix thame,”
 &c.

concurs with the journal and with truth, in intimating, that if the place of seizure was not yet settled, it was too late to settle it now. Her visit at Stirling would not allow of it. And it is equally surprizing and agreeable, to see the truth thus start out from the covert of fiction. But this passage in the Scotch, says our Remarker *, “ exhibits an assemblage of words without connexion or meaning.” Yet both are clear. “ In the meane tyme,” says the Queen, that is, till you can choose the place, and *send* me word of it; “ I am seik,” not I will be sick, as if she was to feign herself so, but “ I am” so, as she afterwards appears to represent herself; “ I will differ,” I will put off my return; “ as, touching the matter, it is *tó* lait,” because, with regard to *the* business, it is too late to execute it now, if I should return as I originally projected to have done. Such is the “ meaning,” and such the “ connexion,” of the words in Scotch. Let us now turn to the French. “ Cependant je ne suis a mon aise, car il est ja trop tard.” Here half is left out, “ I will differ” and “ touching the matter.” Both are essential to the meaning. The sickness of the Scotch, also, is converted into uneasiness in the French. And Mary is made, not to defer her return, because it is too late to execute the business; but to be uneasy, because it is too late. Yet the Remarker cries out thus †: “ can partiality for an hypothesis induce any person, although but moderately skilled in the French language, to assert; that the Scottish copy is at

* P. 30.

† Ibid.

“ this

“ this place the original, and the French a translation?” The Scotch, it seems, would have retained all its rights of originality, if it had only run thus like the French; “ in the meane tyme I am not at myne eis, for it is tó lait.” But presuming to have more and better things in it than the French, to raise the uneasiness into sickness, to say she will put off her return, and to add that it is too late to do the business now; it reduces itself to the rank, of a translation from the French. And we are thus provided with a new and happy criterion, to distinguish copies from originals.

Let me also mark another proof of forgery here. The sickness, here and hereafter alluded to, seems to have been real. But then it was equally sudden and temporary. And it did *not* happen at Stirling. “ In itinere,” says Buchanan, speaking of Mary’s return from Stirling,—“ *repentino dolore cruciata,* “ in *domunculam pauperculam* concessit, ad quatuor “ ferme millia passuum a Sterlino: *remittente se* “ *deinde dolore,* ad iter reversa, *Limnuchum* eâ nocte “ venit*.” This was such an illness, as was impossible to be mentioned like the present, in a letter during its continuance. It was too sharp, to admit of her prosecution of the journey. It was too transitory, to stop her long upon the road. And it came on four miles on this side Stirling, and at her return from it; when that befell her before she set out to return, even while she was in Stirling, and even the first evening of her arrival at Stirling. So plainly is Lethington’s first letter from Stirling,

* Hist. xviii. p. 356.

quite contrary to Buchanan's narrative of Mary's journey to it; and so clearly is *that* demonstrated to be a forgery, by *this*!

(3) This again informs us, that the plan of seizing Mary could not be put in execution, unless her stay at Stirling was prolonged. Accordingly, we have seen already that it is to be prolonged. We owe the sight indeed to the *Scottish translation*, as the Remarker so illogically persists in calling it. The *French original* did not know the fact. And the stream has risen higher than the fountain.

(4) Bothwell, it seems, has changed his mind since his absence. But how long was this absence, to work such an effect upon him? It was no less than—from morning till evening. Such is the absence, that can change the minds of lovers! It was the whole life of an *ephemera*; a compleat generation, as calculated on *its* cycle of time. The sun had risen, the sun had even reached its noon, and the sun had even come to its fall, since this pair of lovers had been torn from each other's arms. And what cannot be effected, by such a *Julian period* in love?

(5) "*Weill*, thair wantis nathing of my part." *Well* is a word, peculiar to the common language of England and Scotland. It is also used in a very peculiar manner by it. It may come into writings of the familiar kind, because it frequently occurs in the familiarities of conversation. But it never occurs in more formal writings. Nor, even in familiar compositions, can it appear readily, upon the
the

the face of a translation; because it has no correspondent term in any other language. It is accordingly found here, not answered in the French by any word or words like it in meaning; “tant y a que,” the French for it, being very different from it, and signifying *however*. And yet it actually appears, in Calderwood’s translation of Paris’s first confession; and appears repeatedly in it*.

“and séing that zour negligence dois put us baith
 “in the danger of one fals brother, gif it succedet
 “not weill, I will never ryse agane (1).

III.—“I send this beirar unto zow, for I dar not
 “traist zour brother with thir [these] letteris, nor
 “with the diligence (2). He shall tell zow in
 “quhait stait I am; and judge ze quhat amend-
 “ment yir [these] new ceremonies have brocht
 “unto me (3). I wald I wer deid, for I fé all
 “gais ill (4). Ze promysit uther maner of mater
 “of zour foirséing (5); bot”

“en cas que vostre negligence ne nous mette tous
 “deux au danger d’un desloyal beau-frere, si les
 “choses ne succedent, jamais ne puisse-je bouger
 “de ceste place (1).

III.—“Je vous envoie ce porteur, d’autant que
 “je n’ose commettre ces lettres a vostre beau-frere,

* Goodall, i. 138, “well;” 140, “well, well;” and 141, “well, well.”

“ qui n’usera aussi de diligence (2). Il vous dira
 “ de mon estat; jugez quel amendement m’ont
 “ apporté ces nouvelles ceremonies (3). Je vou-
 “ droye estre morte, car je voy que tout va mal
 “ (4). Vous me promistes bien autre chose par
 “ vos premieres promesses (5); mais l’absence a
 “ pouvoir”

(1) “ Brother,” Scotch; “ beau-frere,” French:
 “ never ryse agane,” Scotch; “ ne puisse-je bou-
 “ ger de ceste place,” French. To “ ryse agane,”
 alludes to her present illness. She has said before,
 “ I am feik.” She says afterwards, that the bearer
 shall tell Bothwell “ in quhat stait I am,” meaning
 as to her health; and that he himself may judge,
 “ quhat amendment” of health she has got from
 his conduct. And the King says similarly in the
 first letter, “ I fall never ryse out of yis bed.” The
 French has accordingly preserved the meaning, in
 some measure; only changing the intimation, of
 not recovering from her sickness, into another inti-
 mation, of not being able to remove from that
 place. This however shews the sickness before,
 not to be intended for a feigned one in Mary, as an
 excuse for deferring her return; but to be represent-
 ed as a real one, heightened indeed by Bothwell’s
 neglects, but still real, and the reason for deferring
 her return. It therefore furnishes another proof of
 the forgery. Mary had no illness *at* Stirling.
 Mary did not defer her return *from* Stirling. She
 could not intend to stay less than one day there.
 And she stayed not more.—“ Séing,” Scotch;
 “ en

“ en cas,” French; the latter supposing that it *may be*, when the former concurs with the whole tenour of the letter, to say that it *is*.

(2) Huntly then was to return to Edinburgh, and the messenger was to carry the letter thither, and both to return to Stirling; before she could set off. This marks the forgery again. The present letter could not be written, before the night of Monday April 21st. It, the bearer, and Huntly, could not set off till the next morning, Tuesday April 22d. The journey was six-and-thirty miles thither. Bothwell was then to consider the “ quhair” and the “ quhen,” for seizing her; to settle too with Huntly, how the seizure was to be made with a salvo to his honour; and then to write back to her, concerning both. The messenger therefore could not reach Stirling, till Wednesday evening. And yet Mary actually left it on Wednesday morning, and came that evening to Linlithgow, according to the rebels themselves. “ April 23d,” says the journal, “ she came to Linlythquow.” “ Lim-nuchum,” says Buchanan before, “ *ea nocte venit.*”—“ Nor with the diligence,” Scotch, meaning the speed requisite to be made; as Bishop Lesley in his Negotiations says, that “ the ambassador did his *diligence* soe well,” &c.; as Mary’s commissioners say, that the rebels “ left the doing “ of all *diligence* ;” and as the proctor in Lady Bothwell’s suit is said to have taken “ the next “ day—to do farther *diligence* *.” And Miscel-

* Anderson, iii. 149; Goodall, ii. 165; and Robertson, ii. 449.

laneous Remarker, who objected to the expression in the Scotch letter, is again deceived by his ignorance of the Scotch language *.

(3) All this is totally inconsistent with the time, that the very rebels themselves have allowed for Mary's stay at Stirling. It implies her to have been come from Edinburgh, some days. She has been seized with sickness. Her sickness has been aggravated, by the indecisive and formal manner of Bothwell's acting, concerning the seizure of her person. And yet, all the while, she must have come from Edinburgh the very morning of her writing.

(4) Bothwell had promised to send her word "every day," what she should do. He has not done this. He has at last sent his brother-in-law Huntly to her, against her warnings, and without any written commission from himself; to settle some points with her, concerning the seizure. She refuses to treat with him. She sends off an express to Bothwell, requiring him to settle the place of seizure. But she declares herself to be sick. His indecisive mode of acting has increased her sickness. And she wishes she was dead, as she sees every thing go cross to her desires. All this implies such a length of time, as shews the forgery at once; when we measure it upon the scale of the journal.

(5) "Foirséing," Scotch; "premieres pro-messes," French. The meaning is, that Both-

* P. 31. See also Goodall, ii. 165, "doing of all diligence
" was possible."

well promised a different kind of conduct, in foreseeing, in forethought, in looking forward to all the parts of the intended business. It is to the same effect as before, when she says: “ze had promysit me, that ze wald resolve all, and yat ze wald send me word every day quhat I fuld do.” But the French has altered the meaning greatly. It reads “foirféing,” through the spectacles of the Latin, as *fore-saying*. It then turns the *fore-saying* into *promises*, even into the *first* promises, as if there were any others; and so leaves out all hints of the forethought. And the Miscellaneous Remarker has been prudent enough, to pass over this variation in silence; though it had previously been noticed by Mr. Goodall*.

“ absence hes power over zow (1), qua haif twa
 “ stringis to zour bow. Dispatch the answer that
 “ I faill not, and put na traist in zour brother for
 “ this interpryse (2); for he has tald it, and is also
 “ all aganis it (3). God give zow gude nicht (4).”

“ sur vous (1), qui avez deux cordes en vostre
 “ arc. Depechez vous de me faire reponse, afin
 “ que je ne faille, ne me voulant fier en vostre
 “ frere (2); car il en a babillé, et y est du tout
 “ contrair (3). Dieu vous donne la bonne nuit
 “ (4).”

* i. 91.

(1) It

(1) It well might, considering how long it had been; no less than—ten or twelve hours.

(2) The Scotch reminds *Bothwell* to put no trust in Huntly, as Mary had advertised him before to take heed of Huntly. But the French tells him, that *she* would put no trust in Huntly. Yet the Remarker observes *, that the Scot has “mis-
“ understood” the Frenchman. He *will* have the French to be the original, though the French author declares expressly to the contrary. He *will* believe and assert his favourite Dulcinea del Toboso, to be a lady of high rank and birth; even though her own mother deposes, that she is only a clown’s daughter. And he takes no notice of the omission in the French, the clause “for this interpryse” having no words to answer it there; though it is so important, that he is obliged himself to interpolate some words to the same effect, in his version of the French into English. The French, he observes, is to this effect in English: “make haste to return
“ me an answer, that I may not fail (miscarry *in my*
“ *part of the enterprize*) for I do not chuse to rely
“ on Lord Huntley; he has been blabbing *it*, and
“ is wholly against *it*.”

(3) “He is all aganis it,” Scotch; “y est du
“ tout contraire,” French. Before, the expression was this, “he is all contrarie,” Scotch; “il semble
“ qu’il nous soit du tout contraire,” French. Then the Remarker observed †, as an additional evidence
“ of the French being the original, and the Scot-

* P. 31.

† Ibid.

“ tish

“ tish a translation ;” that an “ emphatical word” was “ omitted, in the Scottish copy.” It is, he said, in French, “ *il semble que*,” or “ he *kytheth* “ to be.” But he says nothing to the *present* passage, where the emphatical word, as he calls it, is “ omitted” in both the copies. The word indeed is so little emphatical, that it is quite the reverse. It does not augment the force and power of the meaning. It actually diminishes it. And the import of the passage, which is, that Huntly was *actually* all against the enterprize ; is diluted by this “ emphatical” word into an assertion, that he *seems to be*, or rather that *it seems he is*, all against it.

(4) This shews the letter to be written late at night. There are only two nights, to which we can attribute it ; that of Monday April 21st, and that of Tuesday April 22d. And, as it is the first letter, I assign the first night to it. If we refer it to Tuesday night, the difficulties urged before will be all enhanced greatly.

§ II.

Mary is made in the foregoing letter, to speak of some mistrusts in Bothwell concerning her. I wish to consider these at a greater length, than I could allow myself to do in the transient course of the notes. And I doubt not but I shall add one more to the many proofs of forgery, which I have laid already before my reader.

Mary left Edinburgh, on Monday April 21st. She left Bothwell there. "In the mene tyme," says the rebel journal, "Bothwell remainit at Edinburgh." She left him therefore at Edinburgh, that morning. And when was this letter written to him? She staid at Stirling, only Monday night and all Tuesday. On Wednesday she returned to Linlithgow. "April 23^d," says the journal, "she came to Linlythquow." We have only one day and one night, therefore, for these letters. And the first must of course be written on Monday night, as at night it expressly declares itself to have been written. Mary, then, came away from Edinburgh and Bothwell on Monday morning, and writes to him from Stirling on Monday night. Yet she is made to complain of his distrusts. "Alace, my lord," she cries out, "quhy is zour traist put in ane persoun sa unworthie, to mistrust that quhilk is haillely zouris? I am wod." But how
could

could Bothwell have shewn any mistrust, in this period? He could certainly have shewn none, *since she came away*. She only came away that morning. He must consequently have shewn it *before*. Yet he was *then* shewing just the reverse. This we know from a particular fact. On Saturday before, the parliament was dissolved. That evening, Bothwell invited the members of it to a grand supper, at a tavern; which has been made memorable since by the transactions at it, and, from the keeper of the tavern, is known by the name of AINSLIE'S SUPPER. The design of it, was to draw the members into a bond of association, urging Bothwell upon Mary for a husband, and engaging to stand by her and him for ever. This bond was accordingly produced. And the rebel journal informs us, that "April 19, " quhilk wes Setterday,—the same nycht the lordis " *past* the band—to the Erle Bothwell."

A dispute has arisen indeed, concerning the *day* on which the bond was signed. An un-authenticated copy of it in the Cotton library, is dated the 19th. But another copy, which is at Paris and authenticated by Sir James Balfour, is dated the 20th. This therefore is alledged by the friends of Mary *, as an argument against the date of the other, and as an evidence against the alledged use of force in the subscriptions. The "parliament," said the rebels at York, "was the occasion that so " many lords were there assembled: which, being

* Keith, 382. Tytler, 217; Guthry, Scotch Hist. vii. 21—22; and Stuart, i. 212—213.

“ all invited to a supper by Bothwell, were induced
 “ —more for fear than otherwayes, to subscribe to
 “ the said bond ; two hundred harkebusiers being
 “ in the court, and about the chamber-door wheare
 “ they supped, which weare all at Bothwell’s devo-
 “ tion *.” Yet I still think, that the bond was
 signed at the supper. The next day was Sunday.
 It is by no means probable, that such a meeting
 would be convened upon such a day. Nor could
 the meeting and supper on Saturday, have served
 any purpose ; if the bond had not been then pro-
 duced and signed. That it *was* then produced, the
 rebels say at York †, the copy in the Cotton library
 asserts, the rebel journal avers, and every circum-
 stance confirms. And these are sufficient, to weigh
 down the solitary authority of the Paris copy.

But how comes *this* to be so dated ? From a
 very natural circumstance, no doubt. The meet-
 ing, and the supper, were purely for the sake of the
 bond. It was not produced however, till the sup-
 per was over. So the rebels say at York, that the
 lords “ were induced *after supper* to subscribe to the
 “ said bond.” So the rebel journal affirms, that
 “ the lordis past the band *after supper* to the Erle
 “ Bothwell.” This would make the business late,
 in a large assembly. But the national habit of hard
 drinking, would make it much later. And as Bu-
 chanan adds, and as we may be very sure the fact
 was, the bond was not produced and signed, before
 the spirits of the company were properly prepared

* Appendix, N° v. † Ibid.

for the business, by a free circulation of the bottle; “*solutis ad hilaritatem animis omnium* *.” From all, the meeting had plainly advanced far into Sunday morning, before it broke up. We are told by the rebels at York, that “the *next* morning, by “*four of the clocke*, few or none of them weare left “in the towne, but departed *without taking their* “*leave* †.” And it is utterly incredible, that the BISHOPS would be present at such a meeting. Yet eight of them are subscribers to the bond. They are so in the Paris copy, dated the 20th. But they are not so in the Cotton copy, dated the 19th ‡. This serves to shew us, that *some* subscriptions were *added on the Sunday*, though the main part of them was put down on the Saturday; that, particularly, a space was left for the spiritual peers, at the head of the subscribers; that this space was afterwards filled up by them; and that *then* the 20th day of the month was written over the 19th. The general fact, too, is surprizingly confirmed by the authority of Buchanan; who informs us in his history, that, *the day after the supper*, such bishops as were then in town were called upon to subscribe the bond; “*postridie, quod in urbe fuit episcoporum, “convocatur,—ut et ipsi subscriberent* §.” And, in this authenticated view of the whole, no violence is offered to either of the copies; the rebel dates at York, and the rebel journal at Westminster, are adhered to; and all the parts of the history, are made to unite together.

* Hist. xviii. 355. † Appendix, N° v. ‡ Keith, 382—383; and Anderson, i. 112. § Hist. xviii. 355.

But let me observe something farther, concerning this memorable bond. That, which is called the Cotton copy, *is one of Cecil's papers* in the Cotton library. And from this circumstance, and from the manner in which Cecil says it came into his hands, it must have been furnished by the rebels, at the conference in England*. They do not appear indeed upon the journal of the commissioners, exhibiting any copy of the bond at Westminster. But they do at York. An account of the fact, is thus given us by the commissioners there. They "shewed unto us," they say, "a copie of a bond, bearing date the 19th of April, 1567; to the which the most part of the lords and counsaillors of Scotland, HAVE put to their hands †." This therefore was a copy, with the subscriptions to it. But that in Cecil's papers is not. It is however the very same, except only in this single circumstance. It was presented to Cecil by John Read, Buchanan's own amanuensis ‡. This Cecil himself avows. "Of whom," he says concerning John Read, "I had *this copy*, being in *his own hand* §." And this points out to us the very channel, through which Cecil received the papers, that were not publickly exhibited by the rebels, and yet were furnished by their authority. Buchanan appears to have had the keeping of all their papers. They were lodged in his hands, that he might draw up his Detection from them. He had therefore an amanuensis. This man, from his office, became

* Anderson, i. 112.
382.

† Appendix, N^o v.
§ Anderson, i. 112.

‡ Keith,

secretary

secretary to the commissioners. As amanuensis, he copied the papers that were to be presented to Cecil. Hence this paper, hence the rebel journal *, and hence all the other papers probably, are in his hand-writing. And, as secretary, he carried this paper particularly to Cecil himself. But whence did he derive it? From that very copy undoubtedly, which the rebels had already exhibited at York, and which was in his own custody at present. We can even *demonstrate* that he did. “There
 “ was also in the copie of the bande,” say the commissioners at York, “A COPIE OF A WARRANT,—
 “ which bears date *the 14th of Maye* †.” And, to Cecil’s copy of the bond, is actually subjoined A COPY OF A WARRANT, with these words preceding it; “to this the Queene gave her consent
 “ the night befor the marriage, quhilk was the
 “ 14 day of May, the zeir of God forsaide, in this
 “ forme ‡.”

* Carte, iii. 818. † Appendix, N^o v. ‡ Anderson, i. 111.—This John Read is said in the first volume of Calderwood’s MS History at Glasgow, to have been “servitur
 “ and writer to Master George Buchanan.” But a MS translation of Buchanan’s History into English, which is equally at Glasgow, asserts itself to have been made “by John Read,
 “ esquyar, brother to James Read, parson of Banchor Ternam
 “ whyle he lived: they both ly interr’d in the parish-church
 “ of that town, seated not far from the bank of the river
 “ Dee” (Nicholson’s Hist. Lib. iv. 122, edit. 1702.) He was “servitur and writer” to Buchanan. But then he is called by his entitler here “esquyar,” with that petty affectation of consequence, which is so ridiculous a feature of the times at present.

Yet why did the rebel secretary, when he copied the bond exhibited at York, leave out the subscriptions that were to it? Because he was so ordered by his masters. Since the conference at York, they had altered their plan of proceedings in this, as well as in other respects. They had a reason for not suffering him to copy the subscriptions now, though they had exhibited them before. There was *one* name in them, which they *now* thought it most prudent to conceal for the future. And they concealed this by withholding all. But Cecil was too cunning for them. He must have remembered the copy at York, in the letters of the commissioners, to have been exhibited *with* the signatures to it. He must have seen at once the unnatural appearance of it, *without* them, now. He marked the artifice. He resolved to counteract it. Yet to call for the subscriptions, would not answer the end. They, who had suppressed, might vary them. He must act to the present moment. He therefore detained the secretary. He questioned him about the subscriptions. He made his memory in some measure supply, what his pen had studiously omitted. And in a paper, which he afterwards annexed to the bond, he wrote down with his own hand, “the names of such of the nobility as subscribed the band, so far as John Read might remember*.”

Whence, then, did Read derive the names of the subscribers? From that very copy of the bond, which was now in his own custody, to which were annexed the subscriptions, and of which he had been

* Anderson, i. 112.

taking a transcript just before. He therefore could not be mistaken in the names, which he mentioned as there. He could, least of all, be mistaken in the leading name. He might omit names, that were actually there. But he could not mention any as there, which were not so. And he could not possibly mention a name, as the very first of all there; which was not there at all. Yet the VERY FIRST name in this rebel secretary's list, is MURRAY'S. This is very astonishing. This is little known. But it is very certain, and ought to be known to all. And it lays open a large scene of villainy in that singular man, who affected in general a character, just the very reverse of what he merited; who particularly assumed a bluntness of spirit*, to conceal an hypocrisy of heart; so became a greater hypocrite, from the assumption; and was in this and in all his conduct, I suppose, the most finished hypocrite, that human viciousness, working upon human wisdom has ever engendered.

He had gone off the stage just as the curtain drew up, at the seizure of Mary, and at the murder of Darnly. The one retirement reflects a strong light, upon the other. He went away only *one* day, before the murder. He went away *several*, before the seizure. He *then* retired on the 9th of April†. But he signed the bond which produced the seizure, *before* his departure. He was, *therefore*, the FIRST who signed it. So eager was he to push on a business, of which he reaped all the advantage after-

* Keith, 196.

† Appendix, N° x.

wards! And so long had the plan been in agitation, among his party!

We have thus seen Cecil's copy of the bond. Let us now turn to Balfour's. This is in the Scotch college at Paris. It is also attested to be a genuine copy, by the formal subscription of Sir James Balfour. He was clerk of register, and clerk of the privy council, at the time of signing the bond. But that was not the reason, for lodging the original in his hands. It was not lodged there, at first. Bothwell retained it for some time, in his own possession. He had it in his possession, when he seized Mary on April the 24th afterwards. He actually shewed it to Mary, while he kept her a prisoner in Dunbar castle *. He therefore took it with him, when he removed her on May the 3d to the castle of Edinburgh, of which Balfour, his friend, was then governour under him. He kept it in his own apartment, during his residence there. In that he had "a green velvet desk," in which he repositied some of his most valuable papers. He repositied in it "the principal band of the conspirators, in that murder" of Darnly. He therefore repositied in it, we may be sure, the bond which had been signed at the supper, and which he had just before shewn to Mary at Dunbar. He left both there, on his passing with the Queen upon the 12th of May, from the castle to the court of session, and from the court of session to the palace †. Both remained there in quiet, till the associates of his vil-

* Anderson, i. 97.

† Appendix, N° x.

lanies turned most perfidiously upon him, exclaimed against the guilt in which they had assisted him, and on June 15th ruined all his fortunes at a blow. Then Balfour, with the general meanness of mankind on such a revolution, broke open the velvet desk, and made himself master of the papers. “He found,—and saw, and had in his hands, the principal band of the conspirators in the murder.” He also found, read, and took into his own custody, the bond of association. In 1580 he was called upon to produce the former, as evidence against the Earl of Morton. And on January 30, 1581, he inclosed an attested copy of the latter, in a letter to Mary herself*.

All this gives as great an appearance of accuracy to the copy, as could be wished for. Yet the reality is not answerable. On the whole, Balfour’s copy is less accurate than Cecil’s. Had Murray, indeed, delivered a formal and attested copy to the commissioners of England; it would undoubtedly have been as inaccurate, as Balfour’s. It would have been garbled for the same reason. It would most probably have been more garbled, than his. But the design of Murray, to conceal his own signature by suppressing all; and the desire of Cecil, to extort the names of the subscribers from the memory of the secretary; accidentally coming in collision together, produced a copy superiour in exactness to Balfour’s. Sir James suppressed the name of MURRAY, for the same reason which made

* Robertson, ii. 463; and Keith, 382.

Murray willing to suppress all. On the same principle he suppressed HIS OWN too, Lord LINDSAY's, and the Earl of GLENCAIRN's. He suppressed their names and his own, because he was sending the list to MARY; and because he and they had been most hypocritically active, in turning the very marriage, which they had pushed on themselves, into a strong evidence of criminality in her. That he suppressed his own name and Lord Lindsay's, is plain from an authentick paper. "The maist part of the nobilitie," say the lords of Mary's side, "and principallie of the usurparis; sic as the Erle Morton, Lord Sempil, LORD LYNDSEY, and MR. JAMES BALFOUR; gave thair consent to the Erle Bothwell, marrying Mary*. Sir James and Lord Lindsay, therefore, were subscribers to the bond. Yet they do not appear in Sir James's copy of it. This omission is a very gross one. It speaks to every mind. Nor can it be palliated by the excuse, which has been unwittingly made for it by the *friends* of Mary; as if Sir James took down "only the names of the *great men*," and for that reason omitted these†. On *this* ground of acting, Sir James *would* have inserted his own. And he *could not* have omitted Lord Lindsay's. The omission of his own name, is the leading clue to the rest. The omission of his own and Lord Lindsay's, shews clearly why he omitted Murray's and Glencairn's, when both appear in Cecil's copy. And all throw

* Goodall, ii. 361.

† Ibid. i. 364, and Stuart, i. 214.

such a discredit over Balfour's boasted copy of the bond, as sets it much below Cecil's.

Nor let it be surmised, that if Murray had been a subscriber, and the very first subscriber, to the bond; his name would have been particularly mentioned by the peers of Mary's party, as one "principallie" "of the usurparis" who signed it, and even in preference to the "Erle Morton, Lord Sempil, Lord Lyndsay, and Mr. James Balfour." That Murray actually signed the bond, and was the very first who signed it; stands upon such a broad basis of evidence, as is not to be shaken by mere omissions. Negative evidence can never supersede positive. Nor is it wonderful, that the peers omitted Murray's name. They were not speaking from any copy of the bond. Even the Queen, and even her embassadour in France, had none till many years afterward; and then had it only from the keeper of the original, who transmitted it to her embassadour, in a letter to Mary, and so left it to be found among the embassadour's papers, a few years ago*. They were speaking only from memory. This might well deceive them. Murray was not present at the supper. Murray was actually absent from the kingdom at the time. Their recollection of both would unite to mislead them. And even if they had some indistinct remembrance, of seeing his name upon the paper that evening or the next day; yet they would be afraid to rely upon this, in contradiction to both; and still more afraid to assert the fact upon the

* Keith, 382.

authority of this, in a formal address. We see them even omitting the name of a person, who was actually in the kingdom, actually at the supper, and more important than either Lord Semple, Lord Lindsay, or Sir James Balfour. This is the Earl of Glencairn, the most ferocious leader of the most ferocious sectaries; and in himself and in his followers so much, what Mr. Pope *once* characterized the English sectaries of the *last* century to be, a

——sacrilegious brood,

Sworn to rebellion, principled in blood*.

Yet this very man is omitted by the peers; though we know him to have been equally a subscriber with the others, and though he was so much more formidable in his power, his spirit, and his zeal, than any of them. And if their memory failed them, concerning such a hero in rebellious violence, “the fellest of the fell;” it might well be unable, to give them all the certainty that they could act upon, concerning Murray. Yet the lords of Mary’s party did afterwards get such good intelligence, of Murray’s having signed the bond; that Bishop

* This man, on June the 17th, 1567, the day after the Queen’s imprisonment, “accompanied only by his domesticks, “entered the Queen’s chapel of Holyrood-house, and,” with all the religious barbarism of our own sectaries in 1641, “not “only *demolished the altar*, but *broke the pictures*, and *all the “other ornaments*, without regard to *price* or *workmanship*” (Crawford 42). “The preachers,” says Spotswood, 208, “did commend it as a work of great piety and zeal.” And see Keith, 88, 401, 403, and 406—407, for Glencairn, as a very *Hot-spur* in rebellion and blood.

Lesley,

Lesley, in his Defence of Mary's honour, openly addresses him thus. Having first asked, "Cal you
 " this—a voluntary assignation of the regiment to
 " you, Earle Murray?" he proceeds in this manner: " I aske then, as before, of you, why,
 " through the special sute and procurement of *your*
 " *faction*;" meaning, as he says in another place,
 " Earle Morton, the Lord Simple, the Lord Lind-
 " zay, with their adherents and affinitie;" " he,"
 Bothwell, " was acquitted, and set on cleare bord?
 " Why did you, with a great number of the nobilitie, MOVE FURTHER, AND WORKE THE SAID
 " MARIAGE" of the Queen with Bothwell; " as
 " most meete and necessary for your Quene? Why
 " did you, as BY YOUR HAND-WRITING IT WIL
 " APPEARE, proffer and promise to HIM your faithful service, and to HER your loyal obeisance?
 " Why did none of *al your faction*," &c*. And the exactness of the writer, in distinguishing what he attributes to the whole party in general, and what to Murray in particular; serves to prove the accuracy of his observations, and to give a greater certainty to all.

Nor let it even be supposed, upon this hypothesis of a wilful suppression of names by Balfour, that he should equally have suppressed others; and that, as he screened Murray and Glencairn, he must also have screened Morton, Glamis, Ruthven, and Semple. The fact is plain, that he did conceal the names of Murray and Glencairn. The fact is also

* Defence, 38, 42, and 26,

plain, that he equally concealed Lindsay's and his own. And problematical reasonings can never be adduced, in opposition to plain facts. Besides the publick cause, he had reasons of private enmity and of private love, no doubt, to actuate him in this bold falsification of the bond. These would mingle with the publick principles, pervert their direction, and destroy their uniformity. He therefore mentioned some, while he past by others. He put down Morton, and left out Murray. He passed over Glencairn, Lindsay, and himself, and he lighted upon Glamis, Ruthven, and Semple. And he noticed not Seton, Sinclair, Oliphant, Ross-Hacat, Carleile, Hume, and Innermeith; some of whom we know to have been rebels*, and all of whom except Seton, who was probably omitted by a mere casualty, we therefore presume to have been such. But every one of these names, almost, is preserved very faithfully in Cecil's copy. The hasty call upon Read's memory, allowed no time for party-selection there. He gave in the names of rebels or of royalists, as they arose to his memory. And his copy accordingly answers to that description, which is given of the signatures by the peers of Mary; while Balfour's differs widely from it.

They say, that the *major* number of the subscribers was of *the rebels themselves*. This is a fact, which is of great consequence in the history of the bond. Yet it has never been observed. It appears however in a passage, that I have cited already:

* Goodall, ii. 65—66, and Anderson, ii. 228—229, and 233, compared with Goodall, ii. 354.

“ The maist part of the nobilitie, and PRINCIPALLIE
 “ of the USURPARIS,—gave thair consent to the
 “ Erle Bothwel.” It is also confirmed by the au-
 thority of Bothwell himself, in his referring the
 bond, particularly, to *the great leaders of the Prote-*
stant party in Scotland. In Mary’s instructions to
 her embassadour in France, for informing the King
 and Queen of France concerning her late marriage
 with Bothwell, she apologizes for her marrying him
 in the PROTESTANT form, because Bothwell in-
 sisted upon it; he, she says, “ having mair respect
 “ to content YAME by QUHAIS CONSENT GRANTIT
 “ TO HIM BEFOIRHAND, he thinkis he hes obtenit
 “ his purpois,—than regarding our contentatioun*.”
 And it is finally confirmed by the very rebels them-
 selves, in the excuse which *they* made for the sub-
 scriptions in general, that these were extorted from
 the subscribers by force; the *rebel* subscribers alledg-
 ing a force upon *all*, when the *loyal* subscribers al-
 ledge none; and *those* shewing themselves decisively
 by the act, to have been the principal of all the sub-
 scribers. In Cecil’s copy, this is actually the case.
 It enumerates the Earls Murray, Argyle, Huntly,
 and Cassils, Morton, Sutherland, Rothes, Glencairn,
 and Cathness; and the Barons Boyd, Seton, Sinclair,
 Semple, and Oliphant, Ogilby, Rosse-Hacat, Car-
 leile, Herris, Hume, and Innermeith†. Of these,
 I shall not consider either Argyle or Boyd to be re-
 bels. They were indeed in the original conspiracy

* Anderson, i. 99.

† Anderson, i. 112. I have
italicised such names as are omitted in either list, that the eye
 may catch them the sooner.

with the rebels. But they broke not out into rebellion with them*. They therefore cannot, in any propriety of speech, come under the denomination of “usurparis.” And I shall rank them both under the royal banner. But of others we must determine differently. Some engaged in the usurpation at first, and vigourously returned to their duty afterwards. These must still be reputed, as rebel subscribers to the bond. And we must repute all for rebels, whom we know to have been connected in rebellious designs with them at the time, if we do not know them to have deserted at the breaking out of the rebellion; and also all, that we find to have embarked with them in the usurpation, however they might revolt from them afterwards. But the Cotton copy has Murray, Morton, and Glencairn, Semple, Hume, and Innermeith, the *certain* followers of rebellion †; and Argyle, Huntly, Boyd, Seton, and Herris, the *undoubted* champions for royalty. Cathness must also be numbered with the former, though in July 1568 he took part with the latter; because we know him to have been actually combined with the rebels, in the month immediately preceding the execution of the bond, and ready to enter immediately upon rebellious courses with them; and because we know him not to have left them, till fifteen months afterward ‡. But
Cassils,

* Crawford, 23, and 26. Boyd drew off Argyle (Buchanan, Hist. xix, 369). † Innermeith appears a rebel July 24, 1567, Keith, 427; and December 4, 1567, Goodall, ii. 66.

‡ Goodall, i. 353 for his union with the rebels, and Anderson, iv. part i. 124, for his association with the royalists.—The
list

Cassils, Sutherland, Rothes, and Sinclair, Oliphant, Ogilby, Rosse-Hacat, and Carleile, seem to take a middle place between both. They were indeed all royalists afterward. Yet the highest that we can ascend in the course of their loyalty, is September the 12th and May the 8th 1568*. And then we find Errol, a plain and evident rebel †, in company with them. We have six certain rebels, therefore, against FIVE certain royalists. But if we add Cathness to the former list, as we ought to do, we have SEVEN against FIVE. This is the amount of both, even if we leave out the doubtful signers. We might perhaps with propriety attach Sinclair, Oliphant, Rosse-Hacat, and Carleile, to the cause

list of peers in Spotswood, 208, and Keith, 408, represented in Stuart, i. 247, as a list of royalists; is only an enumeration of such nobles, as in June and July 1567 “did *either* assist the adverse party” to the rebels, “or then *behaved themselves as neutrals*” (Spotswood, 208; see also Keith, 577). Nor are the names, I believe, much to be depended on. Ochiltree is one of them in Spotswood and in Knox (Keith, 408), though we know him to have been really acting with the rebels at the time (Keith, 406, 424, &c). The name is accordingly Ogilvie in a MS. of Spotswood’s (Keith, 408). But this does not clear away the error in Knox. And so gross a mistake in one name, renders all suspectable. See also Keith, 583, for Innermeith, July 20, 1567, subscribing with the rebel chiefs, though mentioned in the list as either loyal or neuter; and July 24 acting boldly with the rebels (Keith, 427).

* Appendix N° xvii, for Cassils, Sutherland, Rothes, Sinclair, Oliphant, Ogilby, Rosse-Hacat, and Carleile, May 8, 1568; and Goodall, ii. 353—354, for them, September 12, 1568. Rosse-Hacat is only *Rosse of Halk-head* (Douglas’s Peerage, 582), I suppose, abbreviated in pronunciation. He is therefore called simply Rosse, in Appendix and Goodall, *ibid*.

† Appendix, N° xvii, and Goodall, ii. 65.

of

of usurpation. We are wholly ignorant of their conduct, prior to September and May 1568. And Balfour's omission of their names, with those of Murray and Glencairn, Hume and Innermeith, throws a deep shade of suspectability over them. Yet let us leave them to remain with their companions, in their original state of dubiousness. Let us add only what we are sure ought to be added, those two names of Balfour and Lindsay, which, in a singular coincidence of action, have been omitted by both the copies. And then we shall see the balance, still more in favour of the rebels; and Cecil's copy coming still closer, to the standard set up by the peers of Mary. But in Balfour's this is just the reverse. His copy exhibits for its subscribers, the Bishops of St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, Whiterne, Dumblain, Brechin, Ross, the Isles, and Orkney; the Earls Huntly, Argyle, Morton, and Cassils, Sutherland, *Errol*, *Crawford*, Cathness, and Rothes; and the Barons Boyd, *Glammis*, *Ruthven*, Semple, Herris, Ogilby, and *Fleming*. But, of the eight bishops, only one took part against Mary; the infamous Bishop of Orkney. Of the nine earls, Morton and Errol certainly, and Cathness probably, stand opposed to Huntly and Argyle; while Crawford, whose loyalty first appears on May the 8th 1568 *, files off upon one side with Cassils, Sutherland, and Rothes. Of the seven barons, we have Ogilby equally filing off; and Glammis, Ruthven, and

* Appendix, N^o xvii, and Goodall, ii. 65.

Semple*, facing Boyd, Fleming, and Hennis. And thus, instead of FIVE royalists against NINE rebels, as in Cecil's copy, we find in Balfour's TWELVE royalists against SEVEN rebels; and when we add Balfour and Lindsay to the number, TWELVE against NINE.

So clearly is Cecil's copy, a more authentick one than Balfour's! Nor does any *number* of *inferiour* lords, as has been surmised, appear to have been omitted by either. Cecil's, indeed, reckons only nine earls and eleven barons. Even Balfour's enumerates only nine earls, seven barons, and eight bishops. And "the *maist* part of the nobilitie," say Mary's friends upon one side; and "the *most* " part of the lords and counsaillors of Scotland," say her rebels on the other; subscribed to it. But then both these copies, actually contain "the *most* " part" of the lords, that appeared in parliament at the time. This is evident from the rolls of parliament. Neither copy includes any of the abbots. These were secular gentlemen, who had taken possession of the abbies a few years before, and had then arrogated to themselves the nobility of the abbots. They sat as nobles, for the first time, in the rebel parliament of 1560. But they sat not even in council, after the return of Mary, before May 15, 1565. And they sat *regularly* in parliament for the first time, I believe, at this period†. They were yet, therefore, a kind of candidates only for a legal nobility. They were for that reason not in-

* Goodall, ii. 65. † Anderson's General Preface, xxxi, Keith, 227, and Anderson, i. 113.

vited, with the other nobles, to the supper. And for the same reason they were not solicited, like their half-brothers the bishops, for their subscriptions to the bond the day afterwards. But of the nine bishops, of the eight earls besides Bothwell himself, and of the sixteen barons, that are upon the rolls; only seven barons, one earl, and one bishop did *not* sign *. Nor is this all. We know the parliamentary rolls, to be considerably defective in this respect. We know Huntly particularly, to have been at the supper; though he is not in the rolls. We know also Glencairn, Sinclair, Oliphant, Carleile, Hume, and Innermeith, to have subscribed the bond on the dissolution of parliament; though not one of them is noticed, by the rolls of it. And these, added to the list of signing nobles, give a decided majority to the latter. Even if we take in the abbots to our account, we can enumerate only eighteen lords (besides Bothwell), who were non-subscribers; when there are (besides him) twenty-six upon the rolls, and there were at least seven more, who were actual subscribers †.

In this view of the signers and of the parliament, the rebel secretary had no great exertion of memory to make. The whole list of them, as made up in Cecil's and Balfour's copies together, is only twenty-five, besides the bishops; eleven earls, and fourteen barons. He may have forgot Errol, Crawford, and Glamis, Ruthven, Fleming, Balfour, and Lindsay. But most probably he did not.

* Anderson, i. 113—114.

† Ibid.

Some or all of these may equally have subscribed on the next day, the 20th. They would then be never inserted in his copy of the subscriptions, and his memory could never recur to them. His copy was taken that very night. This is evident from the date, and from the total omission of the eight bishops by him. His memory could never have leaped over them all; ranged too as they all stood, at the head of the whole. He could only have omitted them, because his copy did not contain them. And there is a slight intimation at the close of his list, that at once shews the general accuracy, with which his memory recollected the names in his copy; and proves both his copy and his memory, to have been confined entirely to the subscriptions of the 19th. "Eglinton," says Cecil from him, "subscribed not, but slipped away*." He not only recollected those, who were specified in his copy. He also remembered one, who was *not*. And he mentioned the reason, which had always been suggested for his non-appearance there; that though he was actually present at the supper, and actually stayed till the production of the bond, yet, when he found what sort of business was going forward, he very wisely stole out of the company, and departed without subscribing.

This plan of a supper and a bond, in order to commend himself to Mary for a husband, was certainly an amazing stroke of villainy in Bothwell. It was a stroke of refined villainy, beyond the

* Anderson, i. 112.

reach of his poor understanding. It was suggested, no doubt, by the rebels themselves. The bond accordingly appears to have been signed by Murray himself, no less than TEN days beforehand. It was peculiarly calculated, though none of our historians have noted the connection, to produce the seizure of Mary's person, to lead on to the brutal act of ravishment, and to terminate at last in her necessary marriage with the ravisher. And it actually ended in a long train of miseries, to Mary and to all the kingdom.

But still did Bothwell use any armed force, to produce the signatures? It is not credible that he did. It is indeed ridiculous, to suppose he could. Yet let me additionally observe, that this circumstance of terrour is plainly of a later date, than the bond or the supper; and was even fabricated, posteriorly to the formation of the rebel journal; being totally omitted there, and omitted even, when an apology is attempted to be made for signing the bond. "The
 " same nyght," it says, " the lordis past the band
 " efter supper to the Erle Bothwell, *being drawin*
 " *secretlie be him to the supper**." And, what is
 still more decisive, the rebels themselves even *dis-*
proved the circumstance effectually, *in the very mo-*
ments in which they *first* asserted it. " In proufe
 " that they did it not willinglie," say the commis-
 sioners of Elizabeth, " they procured a warrant,
 " which was now shewed unto us; bearing date the
 " 19th of Aprill, signed with the Quene's hand,

* Appendix, N^o x.

" whereby

“ whereby *she gave them licence to agree to the same:*
 “ affirming that, before they had such warrant,
 “ there *was none of them that did or wold set to*
 “ *their hands, saving onlie the Earl of Huntley*.*”

Where then are the “ two hundred harkebusiers,” that compelled them to subscribe for fear? Nowhere, plainly. There was no compulsion, they allow themselves. There was only a licence. Till this was produced, they would not subscribe. And, when it was produced, they subscribed, not for fear of Bothwell’s “ harkebusiers,” but from reverence to the Queen’s licence. So clear is it even from the rebels themselves, that Bothwell made use of no force in procuring the subscriptions! The warrant produced at York, was ashamed to shew itself at Westminster †, and was therefore confessed to be spurious. It was too compleatly ridiculous in its nature indeed, to be obtruded upon the faith of any, that had spirit to examine, and sagacity to discern, a gross incredibility. Mary is represented by it, as wanting her nobles to recommend Bothwell, and therefore licensing them under her sign manual to recommend: when she might have taken him, without any recommendation at all; and when she might as well have taken him without one, as have openly and formally licensed them to give one. But it serves very strongly, to prove the falsity of the force asserted. In concurrence with the rebel journal also, it shews the rebels to have first formed the story of the harquebusiers, at the

* Appendix, N^o v.
 and 87.

† Goodall, ii. 235—236, 256—258,

York conference; and not to have properly incorporated it yet, with their other falsehoods. Accordingly we are informed by Knox, that “quhat by fear,
 “quhat *by fair promises*, first of thair *private state*,
 “and then of *advancing the papists religioun*,” Bothwell induced them to subscribe*. And, as I cannot but observe at the close of all, Murray must have been one of the most impudent of *human* beings to pretend, as he thus did by his deputies at York; that the Queen granted a warrant, “bearing
 “date the 19th of Aprill,” and licensing the persons to sign; that all the peers, except Huntly, refused to sign before the warrant was produced; and that at last they signed, because they were compelled by Bothwell’s harquebusiers: when, at that very instant, *his own name*, and not Huntly’s, appeared in *his own copy of the bond*, as exhibited at York and reported at Westminster, *the very first* upon the file of subscriptions; when he was well known to have left Scotland some days before the supper, and had actually left it no less than ten before †; and when therefore he must have subscribed at a time, at which there was no warrant existing, and in which there could be no compulsion used.

I have entered into this long examination of the whole fact, partly because I thought I could throw a new light upon it; partly because it shews the villainy of the rebels, in a new point of view; and principally because it proves Bothwell at this period, not to have been in any possible humour of mistrusting the Queen. He had formed his plan for marrying

* Knox, 405.

† Appendix, N° x.

her.

her. He had been securing himself on Saturday and Sunday, from any interruption in the act; by procuring subscriptions to his bond of association. He had nothing now to do, but execute the deed that he had projected. He stood on the very tip-toe of ambitious expectation, no doubt. His vanity flattered him with the hope, of gaining the Queen's heart. His pride was continually holding up to his mind, the present proof, as he thought it, of his vast popularity among the nobles. And all must have been hope and joy within him. Yet these moments above all others has the letter-writer selected, for Mary to complain of his distrusts. He has been busy in procuring the bond, with a view to marry her; yet he is mistrustful of her. He has been singularly active, in shewing his regard and affection for her; yet, all the while, he is making her mad with his expressed distrusts. And in the gayest and happiest minutes of his whole life, when

Hope elevates, and Joy
Brightens, his crest;

even then, he is represented as peculiarly suspicious and rude.

§ III.

LETTER THE SIXTH (1).

I.—“ Of the place and the tyme, I remit myself
 “ to zour brother and to zow (2). I will follow
 “ him, and will faill in nathing of my part (3). He
 “ findis mony difficulteis (4); I think he dois ad-
 “ vertise zow thairof, and quhat he desyris for the
 “ handling of himself (5). As for the handling of
 “ myself, I hard it anis weill devyfit (6).”

I.—“ Du lieu et de l'heure, je m'en rapporte a
 “ vostre frere et a vous (2). Je le suivray, et ne
 “ faudray en rien de ma part (3). Il trouve beau-
 “ coup de difficultez (4); je pense qu'il vous en a
 “ adverty, et de ce qu'il desiroit pour bien jouer son
 “ personnage (5). Quant a jouer le mien, je scay
 “ comme je m'y dois gouverner, me souvenant de
 “ la façon que les choses ont esté deliberées (6).”

(1) When was this letter written? There is no note of time in it. But from the whole turn and tenour it appears, not to have been written till two days at least after the former. This carries us at once beyond the line of time, which Mary staid at

at Stirling. And it concurs with all before, to prove the forgery plain.

(2) Behold the backward and forward operations, of this and the preceding letter. Bothwell was to settle the time and place, and send Mary word. He does not do this. He sends Huntly after her to do this, and to settle another point concerning Huntly himself. Mary refuses to settle with Huntly, sends off an express to Bothwell, and insists upon his chusing the place. Of the time she says nothing. But she now refers the time as well as the place, not merely to Bothwell, but to him and to Huntly; to the very man in conjunction with Bothwell, with whom she had refused to settle it before, when Bothwell sent him to her. All this reciprocation of reference is done, we must remember, at the distance of six-and-thirty miles, and within the compass of one whole day and one evening. And, what aggravates the whole, it is plain from her manner, that she has heard from Bothwell in answer to her first letter; and that she is now writing a reply to his answer.

“Time,” Scotch; “homme,” French, as in Goodall, for “heure,” as in Buchanan. But let me make one remark upon this strange variation. The words are “l’homme” in Goodall. They are “l’homme” also in Jebb*. They were “l’homme,” therefore, in the *first* French edition of the letters. And yet they are, as they ought to be, “l’heure” in the French sentences prefixed to

* i. 343.

the *first* edition of the letters in *Scotch* *. This then is a *direct* evidence, against the truth of Dr. Robertson's assertion. "The French editor," he says, "laid hold of these sentences, and tacked his own translation to them †." He did *not* do so, it is here evident from a single word. He printed from another copy, read a word in it wrong, and drew Jebb and Goodall afterwards into the same wrong reading. And a positive fact comes in here, to overthrow entirely a fantastical allegation.

(3) How different is this from the preceding letter! "I advertisit zow weill," she *then* said, "to tak heid of zour fals brother-in-law;" and yet Bothwell, she complains, had sent him to settle all the circumstances of the seizure with her. "Zour negligence," she adds, "dois put us baith in the danger of ane fals brother." And "put na traist in zour brother," she concludes, "for this interpryse; for he hes tald it, and is also all aganis it." But *now* she remits the place and the time, to this very man and Bothwell together; and declares boldly, that she "will follow him." Her sickness too is all gone off. She no longer wishes she "wer deid, for I fé all gais ill." She "will follow Huntly," and, "will faill in nathing of her part."

(4) Just now, she was leaving the time and the place to Huntly and Bothwell, and declaring she would follow Huntly without fail. But here we

* Detection, 153, Anderson, ii.

† Diff. 34.

find Huntly, whom she was to *follow*, is not so forward as herself. He shrinks behind her. And “he findis mony difficulties” in a plan, of which, the very moment before, the time and the place were to be settled by him and Bothwell. All this is amazingly contradictory. But the contradictoriness is heightened by a fact. In the last letter, Huntly was setting off for Edinburgh. “I dar not traist zour brother,” she there says, “with thir letteris nor with the diligence.” Yet he is now with her. She has also received a letter from Bothwell, which has altered her opinion of Huntly; and makes her remit the time and the place to him and Bothwell, and to declare that she will follow Huntly. And Huntly has gone to Edinburgh since the last letter, has settled the time and place with Bothwell, and has returned with an account of both to Mary;—all within the compass of four-and-twenty hours. He moved upon a witch’s broom. He bestrode the wooden horse of the Persian Tales. Or he sailed in an air-balloon.

(5) This augments all the difficulties of the chronology. But indeed, when once the laws of nature are broken through, a great deviation may as well be allowed as a little one. And a palace may rise “like an exhalation” in five hours, as well as in fifty. Huntly, returned a second time from Edinburgh, still finds many difficulties in the business, and still is referring (as Mary thinks) to Bothwell at Edinburgh, for the solution of them. This is surely one of the busiest days, in all the history of the human race. It is full of uncommon activity.

activity. Huntly has been at Edinburgh, has consulted, has returned, is now sending back to Edinburgh, and is to have an answer again before the morning. And, what perhaps marks it still more, all this activity hitherto has been bustle without efficiency. The time and place indeed are settled, we must suppose. But how the honour of Huntly is to be saved, is not settled. He has been so eager about Mary's and Bothwell's parts in the play, that he has totally overlooked his own. Yet he was, when we last saw him, so much averse to the whole, so "all aganis it;" that he had even betrayed the scheme, "he hes tald it." He was then also solicitous to know, what Bothwell "fuld do tuiching" him. Mary very naturally forgot this, in her late letter. She might well forget *his* concerns, when she forgot a material one of her own, the *time* of the seizure. And, though he remembered the time for her as well as the place, he wholly forgot his own honour.

(6) "As for the handling of myself, I hard it
 "anis weill devyfit," Scotch. I once thought
 "hard" to be a mis-print for "hald," and the sense
 to be, I hold it to have been well devised once.
 But "hard" is as good or better, and signifies, that
 it was once well devised in her hearing. Either way,
 the clause shews the plan of the seizure to have been
 settled, before Mary left Edinburgh. Common-
 sense shews that it must have been. But then com-
 mon-sense shews equally, that not merely the ge-
 neral plan would be settled, that the circumstances
 must

must equally have been settled with it. They were the necessary parts of the plan. They were necessary to be settled, before she went away. Her stay was so peculiarly short at Stirling, that, if they were not settled before she went, the plan itself could not be executed as she returned. This passage even says they were; by declaring, that the very line of that behaviour, which the Queen was to pursue, had been settled to her satisfaction. “As for the handling of myself, I hard *it* anis weill devysit.” And this cuts up these four letters from Stirling, by the roots, at once.

The French version here is very strange. “Pour bien jouer son personnage” in the preceding sentence, and “a jouer le mien” in this, seem to *me* very absurd substitutes, for “pour bien se conduire” and “a me conduire.” But the translation of “I hard it anis weill devysit,” into “je scay comme je m’y dois gouverner, me souvenant de la façon que les choses esté deliberées,” is most ridiculously loose and wild. Yet the Remarker, in his usual strain of *sombrous* confusedness, observes*; that in the Scotch “a material part of the French is omitted, and the reason supposed to have been given by the Queen is lost in the translation,” meaning the original. And thus that Ovidian addition of Dryden’s to Virgil,

And her last sighs came bubbling up in air,

proves Dryden’s to be the original, and Virgil’s only a translation; because “a material part” of the

* P. 31—32.

English, is “omitted” in the Latin, and the effect of Juturna’s sorrowful retreat under the waters, “is lost in the translation.”—The expression “handling of himself” and “handling of myself,” occurs frequently in the letters of that period. Thus our two residents at Paris in 1559-60, write to Cecil: “youe may se, how we are *bandeled* without any regard;—it was not our parts to indure so evill *bandeling*;—the bold and unhonourable *bandeling* of us*.” Nor is this mode of expression so *antique*, but some traces of it have come down to modern times. Keith, speaking of Mary’s ministers at one time, calls them “those who had presently the chief *bandling* about the Queen.” And the language carries no particular dissonance with it, even to our English ears at present.

II.—“Methinkis that zour services, and the
 “lang amitie (1), having ye gude will of ye lordis
 “(2), do weill deserve ane pardoun, gif abone the
 “dewtie of ane subject yow advance yourself (3);
 “not to constrane me (4), bot to assure yourself of
 “sic place neir unto me (5), that uther admoni-
 “tiounis or forane perswasionis may not let me
 “from consenting to that, that ye hope your service
 “fall mak yow ane day to attene: and, to be
 “fchort,”

* Forbes, i. 304—305.

II.—“ Il me semble que vostre long service, et
 “ la grande amitie (1) et faveur que vous portent
 “ les seigneurs (2), meritent bien que vous obte-
 “ niez pardon, encor qu’en cecy vous vous avan-
 “ ciez aucunement par dessus le devoir d’un subjet
 “ (3). Or est-il que vous entreprenez de le faire,
 “ non pas afin de me forcer et tenir captive (4),
 “ ains pour vous rendre assureé pres de moy (5),
 “ et que les remonstrances et persuasions des autres
 “ ne m’empeschent de consentir a ce, que vous es-
 “ periez que vostre service vous fera un jour obtenir :
 “ bref, c’est pour vous”

(1) “ Zour services and the lang amitie,”
 Scotch; “ *long* service, et la *grande* amitie,”
 French.

(2) This alludes to the bond of association.
 But the French has taken the “ amitie,” which
 should go with the “ services” and so express in
 conjunction the fidelity shewn by Bothwell to the
 crown, and the friendship shewn by the crown to
 him; and united it to the “ gude will of ye
 “ lordis.”

(3) The enormity of seizing the Queen’s per-
 son, and carrying her captive to the castle of Dun-
 bar, wanted some covering from the hand of for-
 gery, to make us believe it was done by Mary’s
 consent. This covering is here attempted to be
 spread over it. But the leaf-gold is stretched out
 so thin, that we see the rottenness of the wood be-
 low it.—“ Gif,” Scotch; “ encor que,” absurdly,
 French:

French: "en cecy," French, as absurdly added: and "aucunement," French, equally added*.

(4) The French, beginning a new sentence, prefixes this clause, "or est-il que vous entreprenez de le faire," and then renders "constrane me" by "de me forcer et tenir captive." The Remarker, with a *prudence that is the better half of his valour*, passing over the former variation unnoticed, settles upon the latter. And "this is imperfect" in the Scotch, he says, "and does not express half of the meaning of the French."

(5) "Sic place neir unto me," Scotch; "pres de moy," French; the words "sic place" being omitted, though important in themselves, and though leading to the next clause.

"to mak yourself sure of the lordis, and fré to
 "mary (1); and that ye ar constranit for your
 "furetie, and to be abill to serve me faithfully (2),
 "to use ane humble requeist, joynit to ane impor-
 "tune actioun (3)."

III.—"And, to be fchort (4) excuse yourself,
 "and perswade thame the maist ye can (5), yat ye
 "ar constranit to mak persute aganis zour enemies
 "(6). Ze fall say aneuch, gif the mater or ground
 "do lyke zow; and mony fair wordis to Lething-
 "toun (7). Gif ye lyke not the deid, send me

* See iii. 2. 13.

" word,

“ word (8), and leif not the blame of all unto
 “ me (9).”

“ affeurer des seigneurs, et vous mettre en liberté
 “ de vous marier (1); comme y estant contraint
 “ pour vostre feureté, a ce que puis apres me ser-
 “ vant loyaument (2), vous me puissiez presenter
 “ une humble requeste, conjointe toutesfois avec
 “ importunité (3).

III.—“ (4) Excusez vous donc, et les persuadez
 “ le plus que pourrez (5), que vous estes forcé par
 “ nécessité de faire ainsi vostre poursuite a l'encontre
 “ de vos ennemis (6). Vous aurez dequoy dire
 “ assez, si l'argument et le subyet vous plaist; et
 “ donnez beaucoup de belles paroles a Ledington
 “ (7). Que si cela ne vous semble bon, adver-
 “ tissez m'en (8), et n'en mettez pas du toute la
 “ faute sur moi (9).”

(1) How would the seizing of the Queen make him “ fure of the lordis, and fré to mary?” It would make him fure of them, I suppose, by the future marriage of her. But how then would it make him free to marry? By the subsequent divorce from his own wife, no doubt. He seized Mary on April 24, and the first process of divorce was issued the 26th *. Yet all this leads to a detection of the forgery. The obtaining of a divorce, is here made to result from the seizure. But it was intended long before. The preparatory steps had also been taken, long before. Even in the second of

* Appendix, N° x.

Murray's own contracts, it is expressly declared; that, so early as the 5th of April, Bothwell's wife "hes thairunto consentit*." Even the "procuratory," by which she authorized her proctor, to appear for her before the commissaries of Edinburgh, and to institute a suit for divorce; was signed by her on or before that day. "April 5th," says the rebel journal itself, "the secund contract of marriage, per verba de præsenti, was maid and wryttin be my Lord of Huntly; quha for his restoring agane the forsaltour," to have his forfeiture taken off, "*had purchasit ane procuratory subscriyvit with his sister's hand, then wyif to Bothwell* †." The divorce, therefore, did not depend upon the seizure ‡. And the letter, which makes it to depend upon that, cannot be genuine.

(2) How would the seizure ensure Bothwell's safety, and enable him to serve her faithfully? Exaltation, not safety, was his object. Nor could he serve her more faithfully as a husband, than as a common subject. Nor could Mary, in any view, think these were his motives. If he and she were linked in adultery together, her's would be to secure her lover entirely to herself, and his to obtain all the honour and elevation that he could reach. And suggestions, so contrary to all this, could never come from the pen of Mary. They came indeed from Bothwell, originally. They are the very arguments used by Bothwell to Mary, when he

* Appendix, N° xiv.

† Ibid. N° x.

‡ See this point more amply discussed, in Appendix, N° v.

had

had seized her person, and secured her in Dunbar-castle *. They were very natural to Bothwell, who wanted to colour over his profligate ambition, with some less offensive pretences. But they are very unnatural in Mary, who could have had no profligacy of ambition to cover. And the forgery is betrayed at once; by the act of borrowing suggestions from a paper, posteriour in date to the present letter; and by the absurdity of transferring the suggestions, from the real and natural user, to one who could not use them at all.

(3) “Ane humble requeist joynit with ane importune actioun,” Scotch; “une humble requête, conjointe toutesfois avec importunité,” French. “The Scottish translator,” says the Remarker †, still keeping his old *mumpsimus* in spite of the new *sumpsimus*, “does but guess at the import of this passage; and he guesses ill.” The French means, he adds, “a humble but earnest petition in the way of marriage.” But *should* not it mean more? Is this *all*, that has been so long alluded to in the letter? Is it indeed any part of that? Is not the whole aim and substance of the letter, concerning an “actioun,” and a very “importune” one indeed? The fact is, that the Scotch keeps steadily to the prevailing idea of the letter, and the French deserts it at a leap; that the Scotch pursues the subject of the seizure, only adding its necessary adjunct, a petition for marriage, to it; and that the French sinks the seizure from the

* Anderson, i. 96.

† P. 32.

fight, and makes the petition to stand for both. And thus the cypher, which in union with its proper figure was of real consequence, is compelled to appear by itself, when it could be of no consequence at all; and yet is supposed by our arithmetician, to carry even more than the consequence of both with it. “To be abill to serve me faithfully,” Scotch; “a ce que puis apres me servant loyaument, vous puissiez,” French. The French says, as the Remarker himself observes, “untill, in consequence of your loyal services, you might present a petition.” But the meaning is, as the Scotch says, that, to be able to serve me faithfully, you are constrained to use a request and a seizure. *That* makes Bothwell to seize Mary, till, in consequence of his loyal services done after the seizure, he could request her to marry him; which is infinitely absurd. And *this* makes him to seize her and request her marriage, that he might be able to serve her the more faithfully afterwards. Yet the Remarker adduces this whole passage as a proof, that the French is the original, and the Scotch a translation.

(4) “To be schort,” omitted in the French.

(5) Bothwell is directed to excuse himself to the lords, and to “perswade thame the maist he can,” that his intended seizure of the Queen was necessary in itself. This implies a considerable time yet to pass, before the Queen was to be seized. So far it concurs with the rest of this letter, and all the former. And so far also it concurs with the whole
of

of both, to prove the forgery. But it likewise affords a distinct evidence of the forgery itself. There were few or no lords in Edinborough at this very time, to whom he could make use of his excuses and persuasions. Mary must also have known of this, before she set out. The parliament, which had brought the lords to Edinborough, being dissolved upon Saturday, they would naturally be gone from it. Accordingly, the rebels themselves shall shew us that they were. They exhibited unto the commissioners at York, “a copie of a bond bearing date the 19th of Aprill 1567; to the which *the most part of the lords and counsaillors of Scotland* have put to their hands—: it appeared also, that, the self-same daye of the date of this bond,—the Earl of Huntley was restored by parliament; which parliament was *the occasion*, that *so many lords were there assembled*; which, being all invited to a supper by Bothwell, were—induced—to subscribe to the said bond—;” and, “the next morning by four of the clocke, *fewe or none of them* were left in the towne, but departed without taking their leave*.” And there must therefore, on the Monday and Tuesday afterwards, have been “none of them” at all “left in the towne,” for Bothwell to try his excuses or persuasions upon.

(6) What enemies had Bothwell *at this time*? He had none, except those who were leading him to the seizure of the Queen, in order to ruin both

* Appendix, N^o v.

him and her. Yet these the *adulterous* Bothwell, and the *adulterous* Mary, could not have considered as enemies. And all the lords assembled in parliament, being “the most part of the lords and counsaillors of Scotland,” had just before shewn a remarkable instance, of their seeming attachment to him.—“Yat ye are constreint to mak persute aganis zour enemies,” Scotch; “que vous estes forcée par necessité de faire ainsi vostre poursuite a l’encontre de vos ennemis,” French. Knowing, as we do know, the Scotch to be the original and the French a translation; it is an object of literary curiosity, to see with what earnestness and eagerness, with what wriggings and writhings, the Remarker endeavours to prove true by verbal criticisms, what we are certain to be false from fact. But it is peculiarly curious to observe, what little points he fastens upon at times, in order to prove it. And we have a lively instance before us here. “The translator,” he says, and means the Scotchman, “not understanding the sense of *poursuite*, has made Bothwell *pursue* his enemies, not sollicite the Queen’s hand;” as if, even on this interpretation, the Scotch “persute” was not just the same in meaning with the French “poursuite;” and as if the real interpretation was not, that Bothwell was obliged to seize her person, and then solicit her marriage, in order to make pursuit against his enemies.

(7) This is another of the false mint-master’s marks. Bothwell before was to make excuses and
to

to try persuasions, upon lords that were *not* at Edinburgh. He is now to speak “mony fair wordis “to Lethington,” *who was actually with the Queen at the time.* This is an amazing stroke of imposture. Yet it is a plain one. “April 24,” says the rebel journal itself concerning the seizure, Bothwell “met hir upon the way, seemit to ravish “hir, and tuik Huntly and THE SECRETARIE prisoneris, &c. *” That this was secretary Maitland of Lethington, cannot be doubted. So Mary says †, that on her surrendering herself to the rebels at Carberry Hill on June 15, 1567, and their rude behaviour to her in Edinburgh; she sent “her “secretare Lethingtown” to them. So Lesley makes Huntly and Argyle, speak of “secretaire “Lethingtoun” twice; in their account of the conference at Craigmillar, during the month of November or December 1566 ‡. A MS. also cited by Bishop Keith and Dr. Robertson, which is only Crawford’s Memoirs as they stood in the original, and not as they now stand in the printed copy §, informs us expressly; that, when she was seized, she was “accompanied with the noble Earl of Huntly, “and secretary Maitland of Lethington ||.” And another cotemporary writer, even Melvill, says; that Bothwell “took the Earl of Huntly, *the secretary Lidingtoun,*” &c. ** Here then is a *demonstration* of the forgery; and one that conspires

* Appendix, N° x. † Goodall, ii. 165. ‡ Ibid. ii. 317, and 318. § Keith, 330; and Appendix, N° xiii. || Keith, 383; and Robertson, Diss. 19. ** P. 80.

with a variety of others to shew, that the letters have never been attentively examined before.

“ Ze fall fay aneuch,” Scotch; “ vous aurez dequoy dire assez,” French. This is another of the Remarker’s proofs. And to shew us where the force of it lies, he italicizes *fall* in the Scotch, and translates the French “ you will.” * He did not know what these very letters shew in every page, that *shall* was generally used for *will* at this period.

(8) This concurs to shew, that some time was yet to intervene between the present letter and the seizure; and so unites to prove the forgery.

(9) Before I close the Section, let me make two or three observations, upon what has recently occurred in it.

The circumstance concerning Lethington, is the more amazing; as we have hitherto supposed Lethington himself, to be the very fabricator of the letters. Yet it is incredible, that, in *this* work, he could so far forget his own ideas and his own life; as to fix himself at Edinburgh, when he was actually at Stirling; and to overlook his own presence, at the very memorable seizure of the Queen by Bothwell. And this incredibility seems to bear forcibly, against the supposition. But it cannot bear it down. The latter is too strongly grounded, to be overset even by an incredibility. This indeed is opposed by another. For, even if he was *not* the personal fabricator of the letters,

* P. 32.

yet as he was certainly a peruser of them, and a careful peruser too, since he united with others to produce them at York, and offered with others to swear them to be Mary's writing; it is equally incredible, that, in *this* work, he should so far forget his own ideas and his own life, as to fix himself at Edinborough, when he was actually at Stirling, and to overlook his own presence, at the very memorable seizure of the Queen by Bothwell. The opposed incredibilities thus counteract each other, like contrary impulses of air; and enable us to stand unmoved upon our own ground, between them. And all serves to shew in a most convincing manner, the astonishing hurry and negligence, which attended the creation of these famous letters, in the very creators of them.

Having obviated this argument against the presumed fabrication of the letters by Lethington, let me obviate another, that has arisen at times to my own mind, and will probably arise to the mind of my reader. There is such a strain of low breeding in the language, in the address, and in the deportment, of the Queen and her courtiers; as could never (we are apt to surmise) be thrown in by a Lethington, a man conversant for years with the court, and a man for years attendant upon the Queen. Yet this cannot in reality affect the pretensions of Lethington, to the honour of this capital forgery. He did not fall into these absurdities, either ignorantly or inadvertently. He fell wilfully into them. He was obliged to do so. He could

not write of the Queen and her court, as he knew them to be. It would not comport with his flagitious designs, to delineate them in their native colours to the publick. He must represent *her* in masquerade. And he must represent *them*, as equally masquerading with her. He accordingly holds her out to the eye of the world, and them as catching their manners by reflection from her, the very reverse of what they were. He has drest up the accomplished and dignified Queen, all whose deportment was a frank but polished courtesy, and all whose language was propriety and delicacy itself; in the loose garb of the lowest adulterers. He has shewn her unaccomplished, undignified, unpolished, and very gross. He has given her all the bold familiarities of a common hoyden. He has superadded all the vulgarities of a common whore. And he has thus written a set of letters for her, which in every feature of their complexion, and in the stronger features peculiarly, deny all resemblance to history, and disclaim all affinity to Mary.

Yet still how shall we account, for his strange insertion of his own name in the letters? He *must* know in the moments of composition, that he was actually with the Queen at the seizure. No hurry could efface this from his memory. No negligence could keep him from attending to it there. How came he then to write, in so direct a contradiction to fact, and in such an impudent violation of his own memory? This can only be accounted for, I believe, from a very signal sort of mystery

mystery in the frame and texture of his mind. He was, say Crawford's Memoirs, "a man of great parts, well versed in all the intreagues of the court, and the inclinations of the common people; singularly *cunning, bold, and eloquent, but prone to changes*; and so fond of being great, or of appearing considerable, in a party or cabal, that no ties of honour or friendship could bind him to the interest of his sovereign or his country *." No ties of friendship or of honour, could even bind him to his own party. The same principle went on regularly in its operations. And Lethington was uniformly a traitor to all his connections.

Buchanan accordingly wrote a libel against him in 1570, under the title of CHAMELEON. In that he recites some curious facts, which lay this retired and unobserved part of Lethington's character, very open before us. "The first experience the said Quene" regent "had of him," he says, "was in sending him to France for certane bisines occurrent for the tyme; quhair he did his commissioun, *sa weill to his awin intention, and sa far from the Quenis mynd, that he dissavit the Cardinal of Lorayne*; quha untill that day thocht himself, not only auld practicien, bot also maister, zea Doctor Subtilis, in sic matters of negociatioun." After Mary's arrival in Scotland, when he was acting in union with Murray; "sche," Mary, "then being deliberat to destroy him," Murray, "be the Erll of Huntlie, went to the

* P. 5—6.

" North,

“ North, and he,” Murray, “ in her company;
 “ and howbeit the tressoun wes oppynnit planelie,
 “ and Johne Gordoun lying not far of the town,”
 Aberdeen *, “ with an greit powar, and the Erll
 “ of Murray exprefslie ludgeit in ane hous separate
 “ frae all uther habitatioun, and his deid [death]
 “ be diverse wayis focht; this Chamæleon, que-
 “ ther of fempilnes, or for layk of foirficht, or
 “ for bauldnes of courage, I refer to every manis
 “ confcience that doith knaw him, *he alone could*
 “ *se no tressoun, could feare no danger, and wald*
 “ *nevir beleif, that the Erll of Huntlie wald tak in*
 “ *hand sic ane interpris.*” On the intended mar-
 riage of the Queen with Darnly, when some
 objected to it on account of religion; “ the
 “ Chamæleon *in secreit* flatterit the Quene, and
 “ *openlie* tuke the colour of religioun.” Afterwards
 “ being sent divers tymes to commune with the
 “ Lord Flemyng,” he *evir* did the *contrair of the*
 “ *propose, that he wes send for.*” And when Murray
 was setting out for the conference at York, being
 doubtful “ quhethir he fould tak him with him-
 “ self, or leif him beheind; for, taking him, he
 “ *doubtit not bot he wald hinder the actioun in al*
 “ *manner possibill*; and, leaving him behind, that
 “ following his natural complexioun, *he wald*
 “ *trubill the cuntre* in sick manner, that it fould
 “ not be easelie in lang tyme brocht to rest agane:
 “ at lang having deliberat to take him with him,
 “ and *perswadit him bayth be giftis of landis and*

* Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, 87.

“ money,

“ *money, he fand to be trew in deid all that he*
 “ *suspectit afore; for, everie nycht in a manner,*
 “ *he communicat all that wes amangis us, with sum*
 “ *of our adversaris, and armit thame, sa far as he*
 “ *culd, agains the said Regent*.”*

Such a very extraordinary man does Lethington appear, under the pourtraying pencil of Buchanan! Nor can we make many deductions, from this imputed extravagance of perfidiousness in him; because of the slanderous tendency of Buchanan's temper. Some of these facts we know to be true. All of them serve only to give us back the image, a little enlarged and a little disfigured perhaps, which the mirror of history has held up to us before. Lethington felt a perpetual versatility in his spirit, a perpetual unfaithfulness in his principles, and a perpetual fund of resources, at the call of both, in the dexterities of his own management. He was happy to render himself an important associate to his party, by the exertions of his natural cunning. But he was also happy, in a strange superfoetation of cunning, to be plotting against the very party, which he was actually serving at the time. To undermine his enemies, and to countermine his friends, appears to have been the great ambition of his refining genius. And thus in the very moments, when he was fabricating this grand system of imposition against Mary, he would plume himself at once on forming it, and on giving it during the formation such

* P. 14, 15, and 16, Ruddiman's Buchanan.

private marks, such secret signatures, by little errors in time, and by petty variations from fact; as would escape the notice of every other eye, and yet should enable him, whenever he pleased, to expose the whole villainy to the world compleatly.

§ IV.

Here let us examine an argument, which has been strongly urged in favour of a French original to the letters. Mr. Hume, I think, was the first, who insisted upon the Gallicisms in the Scotch copy, and alledged them as a proof of its being a translation from the French*. Mr. Tytler replied to him. And the Miscellaneous Remarker has rejoined to Mr. Tytler. It is pleasing enough to a philosophical surveyor of the human mind, to see it contending with such weak weapons on either side, when history would have furnished it with weapons of force and power. Such have been actually produced, I trust, in the course of the present work. Nor can any Gallicisms in the Scotch, have the weight of a feather at present, against the full measure of historical evidence before. Yet it may be useful to notice the argument, in order to answer it as an objection; as one that is really light in itself, but has been made respectable by the contest about it.

* v. 147.

The objection, as advanced by Mr. Hume, consisted of various IDIOMS, and of one WORD, that were Gallick. To the idioms we need not say much. They are such unsubstantial evidences, that there is hardly any grasping of them. They run thus: “make fault, faire des fautes;” “make it seem that I believe, faire semblant de le croire,” which is literally, to make a semblance of believing it, and therefore different from the Scotch: “make brek, faire breche;” “have you not desire to laugh, n’avez vous pas envie de rire,” which is plainly no idiom, and has no similarity at all; “the place will hald unto the death, la place tiendray jusqu’a la mort,” where the point of similarity lies only in *the* and *la*, the former of which was then used in this connection, though it seldom is now, and the latter is sometimes not used at present; “he may not come forth of the house this long time, il ne peut pas sortir du logis de long temps,” which is no idiom, and has no more similarity than what a translation necessarily gives; “to make me advertisement, faire m’avertir,” which is different from the Scotch, and signifies only, to *make advertise me*; “put order to it, mettre ordre a cela,” which is different again, and as different as to *put* and to *send*; “discharge your heart, decharger votre cœur,” and “mak gud watch, faites bon gard,” in both which the similarity is in one word, and the dissimilarity in two and three. And at the close we may ask, If such arguments as these can prove any thing, what will be too difficult to be proved? Yet the

Miscellaneous

Miscellaneous Remarker * has even heightened the folly, by adducing these additional Gallicisms out of one of the letters, though these are as much Anglicisms, as almost any modes of speech in our language; “the disdaine that I can not be in outward effect yours,” “my only wealth,” “fall not part furth of my bosom,” “to the quhilk I pretend,” and “for evil nor gude fall nevir mak me go from it.” And I cannot but observe upon both, that, if we were to listen to such empiricks in language as these, we should be like the honest Alderman with his *prose*, and stare to find we had been talking FRENCH all our lives.

The languages of France and England, were originally the same. They were so, in the days of our British ancestors. They were so still, in the time of our Saxon fathers. And *Frenchmen were brought hitther by Augustine and his fellow-missionaries, to be their interpreters to the English.* The fact is little known. But it ought to be called out into general notice. It is recorded by Bede himself †: “acceperunt autem, præcipiente beato Papâ Gregorio, DE GENTE FRANCORUM INTERPRETES.” This being the case, the two languages may well retain a variety of similar idioms to the present day. They must still be *substantially* the same. They apparently are so. The same words, and the same combinations of words, are perpetually recurring in both. And we may as well argue in general, from any coincidences of this nature, *that the French are*

* P. 33.

† Hist. i. 25. Smith.

derived from the English; as that the English are borrowed from the French. Yet, from the natural variations of time in two separate kingdoms, there are many idioms and words peculiar to each at present. Some of the French were common once to our own language, though they are retained only in the other now; and some are still common. Thus, “to *discharge* your heart” was used at the period of the letters, and is still used among us, as it is among the French; though it is almost superseded in familiar life among us, by the expression “to *open* your heart.” Thus also, “to *make* good watch,” was used then for “to *keep* good watch;” though the French still adhere to their old expression, “*faire de bon gard.*” The French and we also once said, “*faire un faut,*” or “to *make* a fault,” as the Scotch letters say; but we now say, “to *do* a fault,” while the French preserve their ancient term. And “to make a breach” is as good English, as “*pour faire breche*” is French.

Having thus dispatched the idioms, I turn to the words. Mr. Hume mentions only one; “this is my first JOURNEY, c’est ma premiere JOURNEE.” He thought *journey* in this sense, to be purely French. Though a Scotchman; though so thoroughly a Scotchman, that even to the last he could not clear his tongue, from his native provinciality of pronunciation; yet he had never heard the word, it seems, among his contemporaries of the town or country about him. In itself, and in its derivatives, it forms a very important set of words
in

in the English language. In all the English extremities of the island, it signifies just as it does in the letters, a day's work. And, as Mr. Tytler has justly observed *, *journey-man* and *journey-work* are common to all parts of it.

This single instance furnishes us with a striking proof, of the hasty superficialness and the wanton decisiveness, with which Mr. Hume pretended to disprove the originality of the Scotch letters. In the violence of his assault upon it, he forgot his native tongue. His zeal operated, with all the force of a fever upon his brain. He did, as Rousseau said he did afterwards in his hearing. *He talked nothing but French in his sleep.* The whole English language was lost to him, during the continuance of the paroxysm. And the loudest conversation of the street or the farm, could not awaken him from his delirium.

But the English language, *at the period of the letters*, appears to have been particularly furnished with words, that either in their nature, or in their orthography, were purely French. Indeed the foppery of adopting such terms, seems to have been fully as prevalent among the grave statesmen then; as it is among our writing and conversing coxcombs at present. And some of these actually make their appearance, in the letters.

Secretary Cecil, says Mr. Tytler †, mentions a thing "to be BRUITED." Throgmorton also, says Miscellaneous Remarker ‡, uses BRUIT for rumour.

* P. 87.

† P. 86.

‡ P. 18.

And half a hundred writers used these words at the time, and have used them since. But this argument, adds the Remarker, “ seems not to the “ purpose; for Cecil was an Englishman, and *bruted* “ is not a French word.” Are not the Scotch and the English languages, then, the same? Are not the Scotch letters, particularly, written in English? They certainly are. And, though *bruted* be not used by the French, the radical *bruit* is, which is sufficient. We took this word from the French, and then founded our own *bruted* upon it.

Sir James Melvill, says Mr. Tytler*, uses the word *FINEST* for “ the most subtile, cunning, or “ penetrating genius, from the French words *fin* and “ *finet*, a cunning or subtile man; a word not “ known or used, either in writing or in common “ speech, at this day.” This is surely a good instance of the humour then current among writers, for adopting French words into the language; and so helps to account for the appearance of such words, in the Scotch letters. Yet the Remarker does not like it. “ Neither is it of moment,” he says†, “ that “ Melvill, who had passed much of his time in “ France, used *finest*;—thus forming, by analogy, “ a superlative from the French *fin*.” What makes Mr. Tytler’s observation of no moment, in the opinion of his critick, is; that Melvill “ had passed “ much of his time in France.” But had not Mary, who must have written the letters, if they

* P. 86.

† P. 18.

are genuine, and in whose name they must have been written, if they are forgeries? Yet the Remarker adds: “as to what the author says of *fin* “and *finet*—having the same sense, he might as “well have said, that a *smatterer* in the French “language and an *adept* are synonymous.” How trifling an advantage, will kindle the natural pride of our spirits, into an instant blaze! “I once “knew,” said that good and ingenious man, the late Mr. Hooke the historian, “a fellow vain of “tying a string adroitly to a rat’s tail.” But *there* was some ground for the vanity. The fellow was adroit. And the Remarker is not so. *Fin* signifies cunning or subtle, and *finet* signifies subtle or cunning.

In the protestation drawn up for the earls of Huntly and Argyle, as Mr. Tytler remarks*, “Lethington says; “Tak you na care, we sal find “an *moyen* to mak her quit of him.” But this, replies the Remarker †, “is merely the word *mean* “spelt in a different way.” It is spelt, however, in the *French* way. It therefore shews the tendency of the times to the *French* language, in a very strong manner. Even when the word was English as well as French, and when it was used in an English as well as a French meaning, the tongue or the pen imperceptibly formed it in the French fashion. And, so formed, the word occurs continually in the Scotch papers of those times; in the intimations given by the nobles of Mary’s party to

* P. 86.

† P. 20.

her commissioners*; in Mary's register of the proceedings at Hampton Court, on Feb. 2d, 1568 †; in Murray's letter to Cecil, Jan. 31, 1569 ‡; in a letter of Mary's to her friends in Scotland §; in a letter of Murray's to Mary herself §; and in bishop Lesley's Negotiations ¶.

So also the English commissioners at York, use an English word formed exactly in the same mold of France; and speak of DEPECHING, instead of dispatching, an answer to a letter †. Murray does the same, in a letter from England to the Lord of Craigmillar; dating it thus, "at Kingstoun, the xi of Januar, 1568;" and then adding this posterior note to it, *depeschit* the xiii day **. Mary does the same too, in her account of Rizzio's murder to her embassadour in France; writing to him in these words, "we received your *depesche*, sent by captain Mure ††." And as her and Elizabeth's commissioners are said by the latter, to be waiting till the former should hear "from the Quene their mistress, by their next *depeche*." So is Mary herself represented by the English embassadour at Paris in 1559, to have said "she had the more cause" to keep up the peace between Elizabeth and France, "for the neere PARENTAIGE" or relationship, "which is betwixt your two Majesties;" and our embassadours there talk of DEVISING or conversing, and of DEVISES or conversations |||.

Yet

* Goodall, ii. 355.	† ii. 335.	‡ ii. 332,
ii. 325—326.	§ Anderson, iv. part i. 117.	¶ P. 76. An-
derson, iii.	† Goodall, ii. 127.	** ii. 306.
†† Keith, 330.	Goodall, ii. 156.	Thus we have
		"depeched"

Yet it was not merely, in Frenchifying the form or the meaning of English words; that this pedantry of politeness shewed itself in that age. It took a bolder step. It introduced words, that are supposed to be purely French, and in what is believed to be a purely French meaning. “Queen Mary, in answer to Murray’s and Morton’s accusation against her, says they have MESCHANTLIE sclanderit her.” Lethington, confessedly the best Scotch writer of that time,” and, as I must beg leave to add, the very fabricator of the letters, “in his own letter to Cecil—useth the word APPUY for support*.” Randolph also, the English embassadour in Scotland, speaks of the INGROSSMENT, or pregnancy, of the Dutcheß of Savoy †. Throgmorton too speaks of “the Duke of Guyse with parte of the campe,” being “ACYSTYD” or accompanied “with the Duke of Montpencier and hys force ‡.” Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crofraguel, in a treatise which he published 1558, says thus of the clergy; “this wer the way to cum in att the dure,—quhare now,—as it wer thevis or BRYGANTIS, we creip in at wyndois or bak-durris §.” Nor is the word *brigants*, in its derivatives at least, peculiar to the present writer. It was even used in the judicial

“depeched” in Haynes, 8, 12, 23, 29, 31, 38, 130, 225, 240, 248, 250, &c.; and “depech,” 30, 137, 149, 249, 253, 256, 260, &c.: “depeched” in Forbes, i. 126, 324, 330, 353, 364, &c.; and “depeche,” i. 316, 328, 329, 337, 356, 368, 371, &c. And see Forbes, i. 106, for “parentaige,” i. 221 for “devifing,” and i. 229 for “devifes.”

* Tytler, 86.

† Keith, 209.

‡ Forbes, ii. 3.

§ Keith, App. 203.

forms of the nation, at this period. In 1581 a Scotch peer being tried for the murder of Darnly, he is charged in his indictment to have murdered him, “be way of hamefukin, BRIGANCIE, and “foirthrowght fellonie*.” And what intimates even some of these very words, to have been originally in the Scotch language; though they are only preserved in the French, at present; the same Abbot, in a letter of April the 7th, 1559, says to the Archbishop of Glasgow, “zit I may write un MOT to “your lordship:” thus using a word, that is well known to be French; using it too, with a numerical term that has particularly a French appearance; and yet using a word, that is exceedingly familiar to *all* the inhabitants of *Lancashire* at this day †.

To any of these instances, either of casual French or of French affectation, among the Scotch or the English of those days; the Remarker cannot object. He does not. Yet he wants some “better “evidence,” to “account for the numerous Gallicisms that occur in the Scottish copy.” Those instances are not very numerous. We have just seen a long string of his own, not *one of which* was a Gallicism. And Mr. Hume’s too have been all accounted for. The Remarker, however, now

* Arnot’s Crim. Trials, 390.

† Keith, App. 194. The Lancashire word is pronounced with that *y* final, which is still retained in so many words among the Cornish; and is formed into MOTT-Y. “Why do you “put in your *mott-y*?” is a very common question, to any person interposing a word in conversation.

adds five, taken out of the first letter. But two of them have been noticed in my remarks upon that letter before, and shewn to be the creation of his own errors *. A third is only one of Mr. Hume's repeated, "mak fault, faire faute." Of the other two, one is "maid my *estat*," which is neither French nor English peculiarly, in its application here; but is common to both languages. Thus "I am secretly informed," says Throgmorton in a letter of July 27th 1559 from Paris, which lays open the commencing aims of Murray upon the throne of Scotland, "that there is a party in Scotland, for the placing of the Prior of Saynt Andrewes in the *state* of Scotland; and that he himself doth, by all the secret meanes he can, aspire *thereunto* †." Indeed our own use of the word *state*, and the French use of the word *etat*, at present, for the governing part of the community; particularly in the titles of "secretary of *state*," and "secretaire d'*etat*;" concur exactly with this use of the word, in Throgmorton and in the letter ‡. And then the question of Darnly is only this, whether Mary "had maid her *estait*," had made up the number of her ministers of state; and whether she "had taken Paris and Gilbert to write to her,"

* Lett. i. § xiv. and xvii. † Forbes, i. 180. So also i. 278, "pretend title to another *state*;" and 298, "when *states* chaunge," meaning sovereigns, "the ministers were chaunged." ‡ So we have "secretaire d'*estat*" in Morgan's letter to Queen Mary, Murdin, 478; "conseillers d'*estat*" for privy counsellors of Scotland, in a letter of Monf. Fontenay's, Murdin, 550; and *estat* for offices of state, Keith, 140.

to be her secretaries of state. The ministers of a sovereign, then, were a formal and regular part of his household. The other is this, "he belevit to die for "gladness;" which *may* be a French mode of expression, like "mak fault" before, but is apparently so nearly a Scotch one too, as not to be worth our notice. And those purely French words, and that purely French meaning of an English word, which are actually used in the letters, and two of them used repeatedly; are totally overlooked by all parties. Thus, says the author, "I held "PURPOIS to na body*," "the *purpois* of Schir "James Hamilton†," and "the *purpois* that he "and I had togidder‡." So Murray, in his answer to the protestation from Argyle and Huntly, speaks of "ony *purposis* haldin at Craigmillar in "my audience;" and mentions "the effect of "the haill *purposis*, spokin in my audience at the "famin tyme§." And so Randolph says of Mary, that after she had spoken to him for some time, "after these *purposes*," he offered to address her as she was leaving the council-room; and that then, "in long *purpose* of this matter, and other like, "she faith," &c ||. The writer of the letters, also, speaks of his "MALHEUR¶." "I am FASCHIT," he adds, "that it stoppis me to write newis of my- "self‡;" and "I am now passand to my *fascheous* "purpois**." "I am thinkand," he says in a

* L. i. § i. † L. i. § xxi. ‡ Ibid. § Goodall, ii. 321.
 || Keith, 195. ¶ L. iii. § ii. † L. i. § x.
 ** L. i. § xxiv.

third place, “upon nathing bot *fascherie**.” And, as he *once* said in his second letter, “I am foe “*faschit* with it †.” Just so Mary, in her instructions to her embassadour sent into England upon her marriage to Bothwell, characterizes her subjects very justly; for “a peopill als factious amangis “yamefelfis, and als *fassious* for the governour, as “any other nation in Europe ‡.” Nor was this French word, un-familiar to the English *south* of the Tweed. Queen Mary, says Elizabeth’s commissioners at York, “wrote also” in the first of her pretended letters, “that she lied and dissembled to “get credite with her husband; and to bringe her “*faschious* purpose to pass ||. The Duke of Norfolk also, writing to Cecil at the time of the York conference, says, that “their action ys like to *fawche* them §.” And as this English use of the word shews, how it came to be introduced among the Scotch; so the appearance of it among both nations, proves the common propensity of both at this period, to adopt the terms of the French, when their own were as elegant and as forcible as they. We see and feel too much of this ridiculous fashion at present, not to catch the reflection of it in the manners of Mary’s age. We are fully convinced by our own experience, that we have no need to recur to the wild hypothesis of a translation from a French original; in order to account for the existence of French words, either in Norfolk’s or in Lethington’s letters. And we actually see an author quoted

* L. i. § xxxii. † Appendix, N° vii. ‡ Anderson, i. 103.
 § Appendix, N° vi. § Goodall, ii. 133.

above, Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crofraguel; in his popular address to the Scotch against the Reformation in 1558, calling upon the Romish clergy, to do "their dett and DEVORE to the simpyll
"peple committit to their cure;" and exclaiming against the princes suffering spiritual preferments to be extorted from them, by solicitations for unworthy persons, as "the MALHEURIUS prince fall
"warry [curse] the tyme, that evir he wes sua
"MISCHEANTLIE subject to the unressonable desyre
"of his subjectis*."

The *Scotch* indeed appear to have been peculiarly free, in naturalizing French words among them, and allowing them all the privileges of natives. This may be accounted for historically, "from the long and continued intercourse and
"connection between the Scotch and French nations†." They had a Queen of France for their Queen, in Mary. They had had a French lady for their Queen and their Regent, in her mother. And their nobles were continually moving, to and from

* Keith, App. 203. So Bothwell is said in the famous bond, to have "offerit to do his *devoire* be the law of armes," Anderson, i. 109. So Mary in a charter speaks of "fies and
"devoires," fees and duties, "pertening to the keiping of the
"said castell," Ibid, 118. So likewise, in Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, we have "*demeure*" for residence, in 214, 253, and 261; "*retour*" for return, in 326; and "*manjouring*" for a half-inclination, in 338. In Haynes also, p. 1. we have "*de-
"moure*." And in Forbes, ii. we have, 13, "scarbillade," 251, "esbranled," 259, "devalifing," 289 and 303, "escar-
"monche," 343, "evenements," &c.

† Tytler, 85.

these

these allied kingdoms. Hence we have so many more instances before, of fashionable impertinence in the use of French among the Scotch, than among the English. And hence we have some remains of French, among the vulgar Scots of the present day; that are utterly unknown to England.

“Every Scotchman,” says Mr. Tytler, “knows well what the vulgar mean, by giving a BONNE-ALLEE or parting-cup*.” This is certainly a very singular proof, of the prevalence of French in Scotland. It is curious to the antiquary of manners. It is curious to the critick in language. Yet the Remarker objects to it. He objects, but he cannot answer. “*Bonne-allée*,” he says †, “if it be a French phrase at all, means a garden-walk convenient and well-kept.” He chose not to see. I must pay *this* compliment to his *understanding*. *Bonne-allée* could never have signified a fine garden-walk, if it had not previously signified something else. The word properly and primarily signifies a *good going*. It thence branched out into two meanings, *a good journey*, or *a good road to journey on*. The latter of these easily resolved itself into a *good walk*, in a garden or any where else. And the hospitable spirit of the Scotch retained the expression, for what used to be called in England a *stirrup-cup*; when the French had lost the object, and the name, together.

The Scotch also retain, as appears from Mr. Tytler ‡, another expression of the same import,

* Tytler, 109, edit. 3d.

† P. 19.

‡ P. 85, edit. 1st.

and equally French, for the same object. Nothing, but a continued spirit of hospitality, could have continued such terms, even amongst the lowest orders of the state. They are, therefore, as much monuments of their hospitality, as of their intercourse with France. But the latter expression is “giving one’s foy.” This is plainly French in its substantial word; and is equivalent, in its *general* acceptation, to our English “pledging” of a friend in drinking. Even our very word “pledging,” and in our very sense of it too, was formerly retained by the French language, and actually appears in the French of the first letter at present; the clauses “that he wald drink to ye folk yat I wist of, gif I wald *pledge* thame,” being rendered thus in Latin “quod praeliberet eis quos nossem, eâ lege ut ego *re-biberem* eorum nomine,” and thus in French, “qu’elle beut a crux qu’elle cognoissoit, soubz condition que je le *pleigeroye* en leur nom*.” But the word *foy* has a peculiar meaning in Scotland, and signifies that “pledging,” which a friend gives a friend in a parting-cup. And what can the Remarker say to this? He *says* nothing, though he *speaks* much. “Does *foy*,” he asks, “mean a parting-cup in French, or *donner sa foy* to give a parting-cup?” Nobody pretended that it did. Mr. Tytler only argued, that *foy* was a French word, and yet was used in the Scotch language to this day; in a particular signification indeed, but still used. It may be lost in the present French. The signification may have

* Sect. 22.

perished, with the thing. But the word is plainly French. And the thing, and the signification, are plainly preserved in the Scotch. No! says the Remarker. "The Dutch phrase, *de foy geven*, means according to Skinner, who writes an English Etymological Dictionary, *cœnam profectitiam dare*, i. e. *fidem amicitiae, etiam per absentiam duraturæ*, dare." Yet this is plainly the same with the Scotch *foy*. This also explains the meaning of it more fully, and makes it to be *fidem amicitiae etiam per absentiam duraturæ*. This also explains our English "pledging," to mean originally a cup given as a *pledge* of friendship, *etiam per absentiam duraturæ*. But as Skinner further observes, though the Remarker chose to suppress his observation, because it was pointedly against himself; "*foy*, ut Doct. Th. H. videtur, a Fr. G. [Franco-Gallico or modern French] *voy*, via, et QUI HUIUS-MODI COENAM DAT, GALLIS DICITUR FAYER LA VOY." This shews the parting-supper to have been *still* retained in *France* then, and to have been then also denominated a *foy*; but from confounding the pledge of friendship with the journey on which it was given, because of the similarity in the terms *foy* a pledge and *voy* a road, to have been altered into *voy* in pronunciation; and the giver of it to have been said by the French, *payer la voy* or to pay the pledge*. And all serves to shew the custom, which in Holland and in France was or is a parting-

* The name, here hinted at, is one of Skinner's friends, "Dr. Th. Henshaw armigerum SRM [secretarium] ab epistolis Gallicis" (Præfatio ad Lectorem).

supper; but which in England and in Scotland, from the superiour love of drinking here, was a parting-cup; to have been retained in France, in Holland, and in Scotland, under the particular appellation of a *foy*, and in England under the general one of a *pledge*: and, in all, to have been considered as a *fides* or *pledge* of friendship, that was to continue even during the absence of the parties.

But I will give one more instance of these notable relicks of French, in the present body of colloquial Scotch. “A JARDELOU, or *gare de l'eau*,” says Mr. Tytler, “I believe, is pretty well understood in Edinburgh, even at this very day*.” This is a word, adds the Remarker †, “of which
“Scotsmen, unless superior to national reproaches,
“are not wont to treat. It means foul water, or
“other noisome things, thrown from a window.
“The vulgar amongst us have turned a French
“phrase, *gare l'eau*, into a single word; and have
“perverted both its sound and its signification.” The word appears to be, as Mr. Tytler states it, *gare de l'eau*, beware of the water. Water, it seems, was the only thing at *first*, that was permitted to be discharged from the windows into the streets, at night. Other things were permitted afterwards. Yet still the monitory notice from the windows, was *gare de l'eau*, and that from the streets, *hold your hand*. And this shews us very strikingly, the predominance of the French language among the Scots; when one half of these *cries of Edinborough*

* P. 110, edit. 3d.

† P. 19—20.

was in French. But the Remarker is out of humour with it. Not able to disprove the fact or the inference, he takes pet at both. "This example is produced," he says, "for proving; that, in the days of Queen Mary, the Scottish language abounded in French words, and even in Gallicisms." Mr. Tytler had said with more propriety, that it "abounded with Gallicisms, and even with French words;" though the Remarker presumes *formally*, to correct the arrangement of his language. An idiom is a much weaker proof than a word. But Mr. Tytler does not produce *this* example *alone*, to prove his point. He produces it in concurrence with others. Each proves a single word of French, to have been incorporated into the Scotch. Some prove more. *Foy* proves one. *Bonne-allée* proves two. *Gare de l'eau* proves four, all formed into one; as RENDEZVOUS amongst ourselves, is two French words compacted together, and used, like *jardelou*, for a substantive. All demonstrate a variety of French words, to have once been engrafted on the stock of the Scotch; since the remains of them are so striking, even at this day. And the writings of Queen Mary's days, reflect a light back upon these again, shew the fact which these image out to us, and so unite with them to exhibit it in its full proportions.

All serves to prove in the clearest manner, that if the French idioms, or the French words, in the Scotch copy of the letters, had been ten times more than they are; they might easily be accounted for, from the predominating affection of the times for French:

French: that this spirit reigned in England, but carried a much greater sway in Scotland: and that the best writings of Scotland then, and the language of the vulgar now, concur together in a very extraordinary manner, to prove the adoption of French words, and even of French combinations of words, for some of the commonest ideas, and some of the pettiest operations, in life.

§ V.

LETTER THE SEVENTH (1).

I.—“ My lord, sen my letter writtin, zour brother-in-law yat was (2), come to me verray sad;
“ and hes askit me my counsel, quhat he fuld do
“ efter to morne (3); becaus their be mony folkis
“ heir, and amang utheris the Erle of Sudderland,
“ quha wald rather die, considdering the gude they
“ have sa laitlie reffavit of me (4), than suffer me
“ to be caryit away, thay conducting me (5): and
“ that he feirit their fuld sum troubil happin of”

I.—“ Monsieur, depuis ma lettre escrite, vostre
“ beau-frere qui fust (2), est venu a moy fort triste;
“ et m’a demandé mon conseil, de ce qu’il feroit apres
“ demain (3); pour ce qu’il y a beaucoup de gens
“ icy, et entre autres le Conte de Southerland, qui
“ aymeroient mieux mourir, veu le bien que je
“ leurs a fait depuis n’a gueres (4), que de souffrir
“ que je fusse emmenée, eux me conduifans (5):
“ et d’autre part qu’il craint”

(1) When this letter pretends to be written, will appear from some circumstances in it hereafter.

(2) I have already, in the preceding parts of the work, shewn what a striking mark of forgery this is. But let me make another observation upon it. The *cause* of this strange anacronism, was the *posterious* formation of this and the next letter. And, what is very remarkable, the same cause produced the same effect in the preceding series of letters. In those from Glasgow, as well as in these from Stirling, *two* were *additional* letters; the third and the fourth, as well as the seventh and eighth, of the whole. This is peculiarly manifest, concerning the third and seventh. The error about the divorce here, and the blunder about the lodgings there, shew it very evidently. And both were letters added to the original number, added when the original ideas were considerably effaced by time, and added when there was no attention paid to an accurate renovation of them. The third particularly appears to have been added, *before* the journal had been presented at London, *before* the letters had been exhibited at York, but *after* the letters had been produced to the parliament of Scotland. It was added undoubtedly, on Elizabeth urging the rebels to come to her conference in England, and on their preparing to attend her there. Then resolving to augment the number, in a fond conceit of enlarging the power, of their fictitious proofs against Mary; they extended the original two from
4 Glasgow

Glasgow into three: as after the exhibition at York, and after that at Westminster, they extended these, and the original two from Stirling, equally and respectively into four. Lethington thus sitting down to continue, what he had composed at first; sitting down to do it, at the distance of eight and twelve months from the first composition; acting under the immediate spur of the moment, at both periods; and yet too confident in his practices, to suspect his inaccuracy in the work; he naturally found himself confused, in his chronological ideas for it. He therefore began to write his third letter, as from Kirk-a-field; when he finally meant it all for Glasgow. He first noticed the King's apartments, as "thair-up" or "là-haut;" but afterwards referred to them, as "the place here besyde," or "de lieu qui est prochain d'icy *." And this is exactly in the same strain of self-deception, from which he afterwards spoke at the head of his seventh letter, concerning Bothwell's divorce from his wife, as already passed; when the letter itself is apparently calculated for a period, that was antecedent to the divorce by several days.

(3) "Efter to morne," after to-morrow. This letter pretends to be written on Tuesday April 22d, as the seizure is asserted to have been on Thursday April 24th †. The fifth letter therefore, the first of the four from Stirling, demonstrably claims to be

* § i. and ii.

† Appendix, N° x.

written on Monday night; as I have already stated it to be. And the sixth, the second of the four, must be attributed to Tuesday morning. Having thus settled the claimed chronology of the letters decisively, let us now compare the train of incidents in them, with their own standard of time. Huntly, according to them, has come from Edinburgh since Mary, since Monday morning, and, as appears from Bothwell's sending him to consult with Mary, some time since both. Yet he arrives at Stirling time enough, for Mary to write an account of his conversation, in a letter that night. Indeed he well might, as many days had passed in that one. For she complains in that very letter, of Bothwell having promised to write to her "every day," and of his having not done it; of his having changed his mind since her absence; and of his absence having power over him, because he has two strings to his bow, his own wife and Mary. And this alone will serve to shew, how contrary the letters are even to their own assumed chronology, as well as to that of the rebel journal.

(4) The favour which they had so lately received of Mary, was this. On April 19th the forfeiture, which had lain for some time upon the Earl of Huntly's estate, was taken off by the Queen in parliament. "Aprill 19, quhilk wes Setterday, the decreyt of reduction wes gevin for the Erle of Huntly, and all his friendis *." And one of

* Appendix, N^o x.

these was the Earl of Sutherland *; who had been attainted, and was now restored, with him.

(5) This shews clearly, that Huntly and his friends; even the Earl of Sutherland and others, who had had their forfeitures repealed the Saturday before; had “conducted” Mary from Edinburgh to Stirling on Monday April 21st, according to the present letter, and were to conduct her back again “after to morne.” Huntly and Sutherland were both in Edinburgh at the repeal, and both at Bothwell’s supper afterwards. Sutherland also subscribed the bond, as well as Huntly †. And, according to this plain passage, he had come with Huntly on Monday. This, therefore, proves a gross contradiction in the letters. Huntly, who came with the Queen, is represented as coming some time, even some days, after her; as coming commissioned from Bothwell, to settle with her the circumstances; as distrusted before by Mary, as distrusted by her then, as treated with contempt by her, and as returning to Edinburgh. This is said, we see, directly in the teeth of the present passage. And the violent opposition, is a full evidence of a forgery.

But let us dwell upon another circumstance here. Huntly undoubtedly attended the Queen in this journey. But did Sutherland also? I believe not. We have three accounts of the persons then in her train, all from cotemporary writers, and one of them from a person actually of the number. And, in

* Keith, 380.

† Anderson, i. 112; and Keith, 383.

none of these, is the Earl of Sutherland mentioned. She was, say Crawford's Memoirs, "accompanied
 " with the noble Earl of Huntly, and secretary
 " Maitland of Lethington *." Bothwell, says the
 rebel journal, seized Mary, "tuik Huntley and
 " the secretarie prisioneris, and led them all to
 " Dumbar †." Bothwell's men, says Melvill,
 " took the Earl of Huntly, the secretary Liding-
 " ton, and *me*, and carried us captives to Dumbar;
 " all the rest were permitted to go free ‡." Mel-
 vill, therefore, was one of the persons seized. Le-
 thington was another. And Huntly was another.
 The Earl of Sutherland was not with them. Had
 he been, his rank must necessarily have caused him
 to be mentioned. Crawford's Memoirs and the
 journal, both which notice Lethington, would cer-
 tainly have noticed Sutherland. Melvill, who even
 specifies himself, could not have refrained from
 specifying Sutherland too. And had there been
 one gentleman of consequence in the Queen's train,
 more than these; had Sutherland particularly been
 that gentleman; Bothwell must have carried him
 equally with them, to Dunbar. Here, then, we
 have another proof of the forgery. The letter was
 written, long after the incident on which it rests;
 and when the original knowledge of persons and
 circumstances, was grown confused in the memory.
 Huntly was made to be no longer the brother-in-
 law of Bothwell, though he was so in reality for

* Keith, 383.
 p. 80.

† Appendix, N^o x.

‡ Melvill,

several days afterward. And Sutherland was supposed to be there, because Huntly was; and therefore was put down, in the room of Melvill.

“ it; of the uther fyde, that it fuld be said, that he
 “ wer unthankfull to have betrayit me (1). I tald
 “ him, that he fuld have resolvit with zow upon all
 “ that, and that he fuld avoyde, gif he culd, thay
 “ that wer maist mistrastit (2).

II.—“ He hes resolvit to wryte thair of to zow be
 “ my opinioun (3); for (4) he hes abaschit me to
 “ sé him sa unresolvit at the neid. I assure myself
 “ he will play the part of an honest man: bot I
 “ have thocht gude to advertise yow (5) of the feir
 “ he hes, yat he fuld be chargeit and accusit of
 “ tressoun, to ye end yat,”

“ que s’il en survenoit quelque trouble, on ne
 “ l’estimast ingrat, comme s’il m’avoit trahié (1).
 “ Je luy dy, qu’il devoit estre resolu de cela avec
 “ vous, et mettre hors de sa maison ceux, desquels
 “ on se meffioit le plus (2).

II.—“ Suivant ce mien advis, il s’est resolu de
 “ vous en escrire (3); et (4) me suis estonnée de
 “ le voir si peu resolu en temps de necessité. Je
 “ m’asseure bien qu’il fera tour d’honneste homme:
 “ mais je vous ay bien voulu advertir (5) de la

“ crainte qu’il a, d’estre chargé et accusé de tra-
 “ hison,”

(1) “ And that he feirit thair fuld sum troubil
 “ happin of it; of the uther syde, that it fuld be
 “ said that he wer unthankfull to have betrayit me,”
 Scotch. “ It is not in the power of man,” says the
 Remarker *, “ to discover the tendency of these
 “ words; unless he consult the French.” The
 words are pretty plain, I think. But let us consult
 the French: “ *et d’autre part qu’il craint, que s’il*
 “ *en survenoit quelque trouble, on ne l’estimast*
 “ *ingrat, comme s’il m’avoit trahié.*” And we
 now see, that the French is so far from explaining
 the Scotch, as, like some of the Remarker’s own
 explanations, it perverts the sense of it. The Scotch
 says, that Sutherland and others would rather die,
 than suffer Mary, while under their guard, to be
 carried off by Bothwell; that Huntly was therefore
 apprehensive there would be a *conflict* about it, for
 such is the old meaning of *trouble* †; and that *on the*
other hand, if no conflict took place, he should be
 charged with ingratitude, as having *betrayed* her
 to Bothwell. But the French says, that Sutherland
 and others would act as above; and that *on the other*
band Huntly was afraid, *if any conflict should take*
place, he should be charged with *ingratitude*. And
 who does not see, that there is a regular consecu-
 tion of sentiments in the one, and that there is a
 compleat confusion of them in the other?

* P. 33. † See Robertson, ii. 373, “ *trouble among*
 “ *his own countrymen,*”

All this however, both in the Scotch and in the French, shews Huntly to be the commander of the Queen's escort upon this occasion, and the others to be only his friends and adherents.

(2) This means, that he should keep Sutherland and others, who would rather die than suffer Bothwell to carry her off, from attending as guards upon Mary. But what does the French make of it? "*Mettre hors de sa maison.*" So "all that" is rendered only "*cela,*" and "*gif he culd*" is wholly left out.

(3) Huntly is writing by Mary's advice, late on Tuesday, to Bothwell at Edinburgh. No hint is given, that the answer will find either him or her at any place but Stirling. And there is no urgency, for Bothwell to return the answer with expedition. The strain of the letter implies, that there was time enough for him to write, for Bothwell to answer, and for the answer to find him at Stirling. Yet Mary, according to the rebel journal itself, set out the very next day, Wednesday, for Linlithgow; and the day afterwards, Thursday, was carried off by Bothwell. What however was Huntly to ask, and Bothwell to answer? He was afraid, that the gratitude and bravery of his own followers would produce a battle, at the attempted seizure. What could Bothwell say to this fear? He was apprehensive, if no battle ensued, that he should be considered as having ungratefully betrayed her. What could Bothwell reply to this apprehension? He certainly could not lessen either. And
neither

neither Huntly nor Mary could suppose, that he could. All this application and re-application from Bothwell to Mary, from Mary to Bothwell, and from Huntly to both, so far as concerns Huntly's share in the business; is all impertinence and absurdity.

(4) "For," Scotch, very properly; "et," French, very improperly.

(5) Not only Huntly, but Mary also, is writing to Bothwell very calmly, as if time was not pressing, and as if Bothwell's answer to *her* would equally find her at Stirling; without any urgency for dispatch.

" without mistrasting him, ze may be the mair cir-
 " cumspect, and that ze may have the mair power
 " (1). For we had zisterday mair then iii. c. hors
 " of his and of Levingstoun's (2). For the honour
 " of God (3), be accompanyit rather with mair
 " then les (4); for that is the principal of my cair.

III.—" I go to wryte my dispatche (5), and pray
 " God to send us ane happy enterview sshortly. I
 " wryte in haist, to ye end ye may be advyfit in
 " tyme (6)."

" a ce que, sans vous meffier de luy, vous y regar-
 " diez de plus pres, et que vous vous rendiez d'au-
 " tant plus fort (1). Car nous avions hier plus de
 " trois cens chevaux des siens et de Leviston (2).
 " Pour

“ Pour l’amour de Dieu (3), foyez plustoft accom-
 “ pagné de trop, que de trop peu (4) : car c’est
 “ le principal de mon soucy.

III.—“ Je m’en vay achever ma depesche (5),
 “ et prie Dieu, que nous nous puissions entrevoir
 “ bientost en joye. Je vous escry en diligence,
 “ afin que foyez adverty a temps (6).”

(1) Mary then thought, that there was so much time yet to the execution of the plan, as would allow Bothwell, not merely to answer Huntly in time and at Stirling, but even to raise a larger number of forces. Yet the bearer of this letter could not reach Edinborough, before Wednesday noon at soonest. And the plan was executed on Thursday.

(2) I have shewn already the only gentlemen of the Queen’s train, to be Huntly, Lethington, and Melvill. She must have travelled to and from Stirling, therefore, with only a slight number of attendants. She *could* not have had 300 horse of Huntly’s and Livingston’s, with her. She particularly had not, as I have already shewn, the Earl of Sutherland in her retinue. And she explicitly tells us herself, and Crawford’s Memoirs expressly confirm her report, that she travelled not with any parade of retainers about her. “ Bothwell,” she says in a letter of instructions to her embassadour in France soon afterwards, “ finding oportunitie,
 “ *be resfoun* we wer past SECREITLIE towardis Stir-
 “ ling, to visite ye prince oure deirest sone ; in our
 “ returning

“ returning he awayted us be the way, accompaneit
 “ with a greit force, and led us, with all diligence,
 “ to Dunbar *.” “ She was coming,” say the
 confirming Memoirs, “ but SLIGHTLY guarded,
 “ from Stirling to Edinburgh †.” Here then is
 another fact, that detects the forgery. And the
 300 horse are like Bayes’s invifible army at Knightf-
 bridge.

There is alfo another proof of forgery, in this
 paffage. I have already fhewn the only attendants
 of confequence in the prefent expedition, to have
 been Huntly, Lethington, and Melvill. Living-
 fton therefore was no more there, than Sutherland.
 He was only fupposed to be there, at a time when
 memory was confounded, by the interval fince the
 event; becaufe Mary called probably at his houfe,
 on her way to Stirling. And thefe letters plainly
 appear fpurious again! Nor can it be furmifed, in
 removal of this evidence of forgery, that Living-
 fton probably was *not* with Mary *at the feizure*, and
 yet was with her at Stirling; that he attended her,
 only from his houfe to Stirling; and that he re-
 attended her, only from Stirling to his houfe again.
 The prefent paffage actually precludes the furmife.
 It intimates him to have accompanied her, to the
 very feizure; becaufe it enumerates his men and
 Huntly’s together, and advifes Bothwell to bring
 “ rather *mair* than les” againft them. And the
 appearance of Livingfton here, concurs with the
 appearance of Sutherland before, to form a *double*
 demonstration of the forgery.

* Anderfon, i. 95.

† P. 19.

But

But all shews the Queen decisively to have come to Stirling, according to the present letter itself, escorted by Huntly and his retainers. It therefore proves the falsity of the fifth letter, which represents Huntly to have come to Stirling after her, and to have brought her a message from Bothwell. And the mention of “zisterday,” as the day of her coming, concurs with the antecedent notice concerning “ester to morne;” to refer this letter to Tuesday, the day after her arrival; to refer the sixth letter, to an earlier part of the same day; and to refer the fifth to Monday night, the night of her arrival. It thus disproves all the intimations, in letters fifth, sixth, and seventh, of any large interval of time coming in, betwixt her arrival and her return. It turns them all into proofs of forgery. And it gives us a very remarkable fact, in the closer adherence of one of the posteriour letters to the dates of the journal, as to Mary’s present visit, than of either of the prior; though it made such an egregious deviation from it at the outset, as to the time of Bothwell’s divorce from Huntly’s sister.

(3) “Honour,” Scotch; “amour,” French.

(4) Bothwell’s force was about a thousand horse*. Yet the letter desires him to have rather over than under—three hundred. This, therefore, I consider as an evidence of the forgery. Mary’s fears

* Crawford, 19, says 800; Buchanan, Hist. xviii. 356, says 600; but Bothwell’s Act of Attainder, dated the 20th of December 1567, says he seized the Queen, “eam adoriendo cum *mille* equitibus armatis” (see Black Acts).

would

would have operated stronger, than Bothwell's. If his made him raise a thousand, hers would have suggested to him fifteen hundred or two thousand. And she was present with the three hundred, while he was at a distance from them, and yet knew their number as exactly as she.

(5) "I go to wryte my dispatche," Scotch; "je m'en vay achever ma depeſche," French. "*To wryte*," ſays Remarker *, "as if it had not been written already." He therefore prefers the French "*achever*," to finiſh my diſpatch; as if it muſt not have been *finiſhed* already, when it had been already *written*; and as if ſhe was *going* from her preſent letter—in order to finiſh her preſent letter. The fact is; that "my diſpatche" does not mean the preſent letter at all. This is demonſtrably certain. What it does mean, I cannot ſay. And therefore I muſt conſider it as an abſurdity of forgery, the prints of ſand in this Birmingham coinage, which betray the place and the mode of its manufactory.

(6) This alſo ſhews, that Mary thought her letter would apprize Bothwell in time, to collect a larger number of horſe for the enterprize of Thursday.

The character of Lord Huntly has suffered in a very particular manner, by the slanderous imputations of the rebels. These have calumniated him boldly. In such a case there are always some in the world, too weak not to believe, and too malicious not to circulate the suggestions of slander. And as it is only the justice, which every man would challenge and claim for himself under calumnation, to vindicate such an injured character as his; so will this be most effectually done, I think, by exhibiting the rebels in the very act of refuting their own calumnies.

When the Queen took her journey to the sick Darnly at Glasgow, she was “accompanyit,” says the rebel journal, “with the Erles of *Huntly* and “*Bothwell* *.” This seemingly innocent intimation, Buchanan paints in all its designed range of mischief. “To Glasgow *scho gais*,” he says, “accompanyit with the *Hammiltounis*, and *uther* “the Kingis *naturall enemeis* †.” Huntly is thus made equally an enemy to the King, with Bothwell himself. But this suggestion is much improved afterwards by Buchanan. “As gif himself “alone,” he says of Mary, “wer not sufficient to “execute the cruell tormenting of him; *scho* “bringis into his sight *the ministeris of hir baynous* “*doingis*,” Bothwell and Huntly, “and his ancient “naturall enemeis,” the Hamiltons; “and with “thir [these] outrages travellit to vex his faule, “at his last braith ‡.” Huntly is thus made to

* Appendix, N^o x.

† Anderson ii. 17, Jebb i. 243.

‡ Anderson ii. 47, Jebb i. 253.

be co-operating with Mary and Bothwell, in the murderous designs upon Darnly. Mary is accordingly described in the journal, on the night of the murder to have “past up accompanyit with Argyle, “ *Huntly*, and Bothwell to the Kingis chalmer; “ and thair thay remaynit cheriffing him, quhill “ Bothwell and his complices hayd putt all thingis “ to ordour*.” Previously to this, Bothwell declares in the *first* confession of Paris: “ I have “ my Lord Argyle, *my Lord Huntly*, *my brother*, my “ Lord of Morton,” &c. confederates in the project against the King †. And, posteriously to it, Huntly is said in the *second* confession, to have come to Bothwell just at the very moment of falling out for the murder, and to have offered, though he was not permitted, to go with him ‡. Buchanan adds in his Detection, that “ *Huntly* and Bothwell— “ had before daylight,” after the murder, “ causit, “ be special for appointit messingeris, rumouris to “ be spred in England, That the Erles of Murray “ and Mortoun wer doeris of that slauchter §.” Thus is Huntly constantly linked in the same couple with that blood-hound Bothwell, by the hands of the rebels; though none of their papers says he was actually concerned in the murder, and though one of them unwarily declares he was not permitted to share in it. He is therefore delineated still by one or other of our rebel forgeries, as still pursuing the same game with Bothwell. “ April 5,” afterwards, as the journal tells us,

* Appendix, N^o x. † Goodall, i. 140. ‡ Good-
all, ii. 82. § Anderson ii. 20, Jebb i. 243—244.

“ the

“ the secund contract of mariage, per verba de
 “ præfenti, wes maid and wryttin be *my Lord of*
 “ *Huntly*; quha, for his restoring agane the for-
 “ faltour, had purchasit ane procuratory subfcryvit
 “ with his sister’s hand, then wyif to Bothwell*.”

He is thus exerting his interest with his sister Lady Bothwell, to draw her into a concurrence with Bothwell, and to agree to her own divorce in order to make way for his marriage. He is also averred by the rebels at York, to have been the first man who signed the bond, recommending Bothwell as a husband to Mary. And he afterwards appears engaged in the plot, for the pretended seizure of Mary by Bothwell; though he is seen at the close, repenting of his engagement, *and yet acting under it.*

April 21, viz. “ Mounday, the Quene raid to
 “ Stirling, as it wes devysit, and from thence
 “ wreyt the letteris concerning the purpose devysit
 “ of hir ravishing; quhair *Huntly* came to hir, and
 “ *began to repent him* —: April 24, *she sent the*
 “ *Erle of Huntly* to Bothwell in the morning, quha
 “ met hir upon the way, seamit to ravish hir,”
 &c. †

The rebels have thus carried on one uniform plan of calumniation against Lord Huntly, through all these forgeries of theirs. They have only made two slight and incidental deviations from it, in the beginning repentance of Huntly about the seizure, and in the non-permission of Huntly to share in the murder. Yet they have made a grand one, in the letters. These speak quite a different lan-

* Appendix, N^o x.

† Appendix v. and x.

guage. And I have entered into this argument, in order to note the difference here.

In the very first letter, Mary is made to write concerning *Huntly* to Bothwell, in very harsh terms. She desires Bothwell to take something “in gude
“part, and not efter the interpretatioun of zour
“FALS GUDE BROTHER; TO QUHOME, I PRAY
“ZOW, GIF NA CREDITE *.” *Huntly* is thus exhibited to us by the rebels themselves, as an enemy to the adulterous Mary, as busy in his interpretations, and as dangerous in his zeal, against her. And we thus take our first ground upon the letters, directly opposed to that of the journal, the confessions, and the Detection. *Huntly* was this very enemy, at that very time when these represent him as a friend.

Nor is this merely a temporary enmity in him. It continues as much *after* the murder, as it existed *before*. She speaks of him exactly in the same strain from *Stirling*, as she did from *Glasgow*. The *fifth* letter exhibits him equally as an enemy, with the *first*. “I advertisit zow weill,” she says, “TO
“TAK HEID OF ZOUR FALS BROTHER-IN-LAW.” But why had she now cautioned him against *Huntly*? He “hes preichit unto me,” she adds, “yat
“it was ane fulische interpryse,” to be seized in order to be married. He is therefore *against* the seizure. He had also said, it seems, “that with
“myne honour I culd never marry zow.” He is therefore *against* the marriage too. “Zour
“negligence,” she subjoins, “DOIS PUT US BAITH

* Sect. xxxiii.

“ IN THE DANGER OF ANE FALS BROTHER ;—I
 “ DAR NOT TRAIST ZOUR BROTHER WITH THIR
 “ [THESE] LETTERIS ; and PUT NA TRAIST IN
 “ ZOUR BROTHER FOR THIS INTERPRYSE, for HE
 “ HES TALD IT, and is also ALL AGANIS IT.”

This *seventh* letter also continues the tale of the *fifth* and *first*. “ ZOUR BROTHER-IN-LAW YAT
 “ WAS,” it says, “ come to me verray fad” &c.
 And he, who is shewn in the journal formally engaged in carrying on the seizure, and actively busy in promoting the marriage ; is shewn in the letters, as in a *Camera Obscura*, totally inverted in his position, as *all against* the marriage, and *all against* the seizure.

Such a gross and substantial contradiction as this, between the letters and the other forgeries of the rebels, is astonishing in itself. It serves to prove the forgery of all, in a significant manner. But it is additionally useful, in vindicating the insulted character of a worthy man, a man insulted for his very worth by these sworn foes to all worthiness. And thus the weapons, that inflicted the wounds, are made to minister a salve, that really and effectually cures them.

§ VI.

LETTER THE EIGHTH (1).

I.—“ My lord, gif the displesure of zour ab-
“ fence, of zour forzetfulnes (2), the feir of dan-
“ ger sa promisit be everie ane to zour sa luifit per-
“ sone (3),”

I.—“ Monsieur, si l'ennuy de vostre absence,
“ celuy de vostre oubly (2), la crainte du danger
“ tant prouvé d'un chacun a vostre tant aymée per-
“ sonne (3),”

“ may gif me consolatioun; I leif it to zow to
“ juge: seing the unhap, that my cruell lot and
“ continuall misadventure hes hitherto promysit
“ me; following ye misfortunes and feiris, as weill
“ of lait, as of ane lang tyme bypast, the quhilk
“ ze do knaw (4).

II.—“ Bot for all that I will in na wise accuse
“ zow, nouthur of zour lytill remembrance (5),
“ nouthur

“ nouthar of zour lytill cair, and leist of all, of
 “ zour promeis brokin, or of ye cauldnes of zour
 “ wryting (6); sen I am ellis sa far maid zouris,
 “ yat yat quhilk pleisis zow is acceptabill to me;
 “ and my thochtis ar sa willingly”

(1) This letter pretends also to be written from Stirling. *When* it pretends to be written, must be determined from some circumstances in it.

(2) Bothwell was still absent and still *forgetful*, it seems. Mary thus returns to the complaint of her first letter from Stirling. But she has heard from him since that. This forgetfulness, therefore, must be of a later date. And it must of course be, since she wrote her last letter. But what forgetfulness could he possibly shew since this? It was written late on Tuesday. It could not reach Edinburgh before Wednesday. And on Wednesday she left Stirling. This, therefore, is another proof of the forgery.

(3) *Every one*, then, knew of the intended seizure. She said before, that Huntly had “tald
 “ it.” And now we find, that “everie ane” at Stirling was apprized of it, and talked of the danger which Bothwell would incur in the act. But let us attend the Remarker, in his *last dying speech*. “Of letter viii,” he says, “there are only a few
 “ words remaining in the French; but, few as
 “ they are, they have been misunderstood by the
 “ Scottish translator*.” The present passage is

* P. 33.

F f 3

accordingly

accordingly produced, to prove the assertion. But the whole centers in one word, "promysit," a *translation* for "prouvé." Yet "prouvé" is obviously wrong, and "promysit" is obviously right. Mary is not speaking of danger *realized*, but *threatened*. Every one at Stirling, tells her of this threatened danger. And this she calls a *promised* danger, agreeably to the old use of the word, not, as now, confined to a good sense only, but then free to admit either a good or a bad one; and agreeably also to her own use of it immediately afterwards, when she speaks of "the unhap, that " her cruell lot has hitherto *promysit* her."

(4) The French ended with my last note. The Remarker, therefore, has nothing more to do. Yet he still finds a little business for himself. He can see the French original still, by the dim reflection of the Scotch translation. When the sun is set, "the moon takes up the wonderous tale." In "one passage at least of the Scottish copy, the "French word," when there is no French left, "seems to have been misunderstood, "' following "' ye misfortunes," instead of *according* to or *after* "the form of, suivant les malheurs." This is a very extraordinary mode of coming at the French original, by *diving after it* in the Scotch. But alas! he may

———dive into the bottom of the deep,
Where fathom-line could never touch the ground;

and yet will not be able to "pluck up this drown-
"ed" original, "by the locks." He has only
mistaken

mistaken the sense here. The passage means merely, that Mary's cruel lot threatens her with unhappiness, *following* her former misfortunes, that is, *in addition to them*.

I thus take my final leave of the Miscellaneous Remarker. Who he is, I have not pretended to guess. The report of London, I understand, makes him to be Lord Hailes. But I know by experience the fallaciousness of such reports. This, I see, is peculiarly false. The Remarker * speaks of his lordship, in the following terms. "My Lord Hailes quotes a writing in his possession, which proves," &c. "See his *Remarks on the History of Scotland*, p. 167, a book little known, in which the author is ALTERNATELY A SCEPTIC AND A DOGMATIST." This is not the language of a man, concerning himself. And I have been since instructed to believe, that the author is the gentleman of Gray's Inn, who is well known for some controversial writings; who particularly wielded his *leaded bludgeon* so remarkably against the *Historian of English Poetry*, and made it to fall with such a *heavy*, and such a *decisive*, weight upon his head; who merits every commendation, for the extent of his researches and the depth of his knowledge, contrasted with the avocations of his profession and the disadvantages of his education; who has all the vigour of a man, that feels he can confide in himself; and wants only the cool correctness, that only a regular education can

* P. 4.

furnish. But I believe this information to be equally a mistake, with that concerning Lord Hailes. Mr. R. I understand, is no Scotchman. He has certainly not been resident of late in Scotland. Yet the author of the pamphlet is avowedly a Scotchman. And, as in one place he mentions what was “the old-fashioned word within his “memory” for a watch in Scotland* ; so in another he refers to “Records, B. 29, N° 285, and “B. 30, N° 572,” though he “will not answer,” he says, “for the accuracy of these references † ;” and in a third place ‡ refers to the “Detection, “i. 2. (or p. 65)—a copy marked by Mr. Good—“all as the first edition” in *English*, and now, no doubt, in the advocates library at Edinburgh. Nor is the work worthy of Mr. R. We have no appearance of Mr. Warton’s antagonist in it. And I attribute it still to some young Scotchman, who has been a pupil of Dr. Robertson’s, and has stepped forward to teach before he has been properly taught himself §.

(5) This

* P. 19.

† P. 3.

‡ P. 2.

§ Since the publication of *my* work I have been convinced, that the *other* is Lord Hailes’s after all. The affectation of appearing as no enemy to Mary, while much mischief is attempted to be done her; is equally striking in Lord Hailes, and in the Miscellaneous Remarker. But some particular words in the pamphlet concur powerfully with this observation, and significantly denote his Lordship to be the author of it. “My Lord “Hailes,” says the Remarker, “quotes a writing in *his* possession—: I have reason to believe, that *that* writing is at present “in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh, to whom it “belongs” (p. 4). This directly coincides with the report in London,

(5) This is another touch, concerning Bothwell's forgetfulness of Mary. And it serves with the others, to shew the violation of the chronology. Indeed this pair of lovers does in fact, what Lee's pair only wishes the Gods to do; and

Annihilates both time and space,
To make two lovers happy.

(6) She has therefore heard from him since her last. This last being written on Tuesday, the answer could not arrive before *Thursday*. Yet she left Stirling on Wednesday. And, besides this, there must be an interval of two or three days at least, to allow for the forgetfulness. This will carry us to Saturday or Sunday, for the date of this letter. And yet, say the rebels themselves, she was seized by Bothwell upon *Thursday* *.

London, which expressly ascribes the pamphlet to Lord Hailes. Scarcely any but Lord Hailes could know, to whom the writing really belonged, and to whom it had been actually given up. And the censure upon Lord Hailes was thrown in, to disguise the true author; while the noticed surrendery of the writing to the Duke of Buccleugh, and the whispered intelligence of the author's name in London, united unwarily to betray him. So difficult is it for any one, to pursue an uniform plan of disguise! So very difficult is it for a writer, to suppress entirely in himself and in others, the vanity of whispering a name that is intended to be concealed! The vanity must originate at first with the author himself. He must betray his own secret. Lord Hailes did. He acted like the young woman in Virgil:

Malo me Galatæa petit, lasciva puella;
Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.

And his Lordship, I know by recent experience, does not even now deny himself to be the author.

* Appendix, N^o x.

“ subdewit

“ subdewit unto zouris, that I suppois yat all that
“ cummis of zow proceidis not be ony of the
“ caufis foirfaid, bot rather for sic as be just and
“ reffonabill, and sic as I defyre myself. Quhilk is
“ the fynal order (1), that ze promyffit to tak for
“ the furetie and honourabil fervice of ye only up-
“ hald of my lyfe. For quhilk alone I will pre-
“ ferve the fame, and without the quhilk I defyre
“ not bot fuddane deith.

III.—“ And to testifie unto zow how lawly I
“ submit me under zour commandementis, I have
“ fend zow in signe of homage, be Paris, the orna-
“ ment of the heid (2), quhilk is the chief gude of
“ the uther memberis; inferring thairby that, be
“ ye seifing of zow in the possessioun of the spoile
“ of that quhilk is principall, the remnant cannot
“ be bot subject unto zow, and with consenting of
“ the hart. In place quhairof, sin I have ellis left
“ it unto zow (3), I fend unto zow ane sepulture
“ of hard stane, collourit with blak, sawin with
“ teiris and bones (4). The stane I compair to
“ my hart, that as it is carvit in ane sure sepulture
“ or harbor of zour commandementis, and, abone
“ all, of zour name and memorie that ar thairin in-
“ clofit, as is”

(1) Here then let us look back to all the pro-
ceedings in this busy period. Mary had been at
Stirling

Stirling *some days*, before she wrote the fifth letter; because she says Bothwell promised to send her word *every day*, and had not done so. This, as we know she reached Stirling on Monday night, will carry us to Thursday or Friday at least. She *then* sends off a letter to him. An answer could not come, under a day and a half. Yet she appears in the sixth letter, to have received one. And this sixth, therefore, must be written on Saturday or Sunday. The next letter was written soon afterwards, on the same day probably. But the answer to either could not have reached her, before Monday or Tuesday in the week following. Yet she has received an answer, when she writes her eighth letter. She complains however of his "lytill remembrance," and of his "forzetfulness." And, from both, the eighth letter cannot be written before Wednesday or Thursday. This however is her last. It was to produce Bothwell's "fynall order." But that order could not reach her, before Friday or Saturday. And thus long, by the letters, must she be supposed to have staid at Stirling. Yet she reached Stirling on Monday, and left it on Wednesday; riding thither on Monday from Edinburgh, and riding back on Wednesday to Linlithgow. She staid only one whole day at Stirling. And this day the letters have cut and minced, into ELEVEN at least. Thus have we again, and with a closer correspondence than before between the incident and the allusion, "*eleven* buckram men grown out of," not even "*two*," but one only.

(2) What

(2) What is this, that Mary sends him? It is “the ornament of the heid.” Of whose head? Of her own. She sends it “in signe of homage;” “and that, by seising of him in the possessioun of “the spoile of that quhilk is principall, the rem-
“nant cannot be bot subject unto him.” It was one of *Mary’s own head-dresses*, one of her own SCOTCH MOBS. This was surely a very strange present for a man. And the letter-writer must have been compleatly infatuated, to think of such a present for him.

(3) By her Will, I presume she means.

(4) This appears to be a ring, the stone of which was black in the ground, and represented a sepulchre strewed with bones and tears. But, to shew the eternal clashing of falsehoods, the letters send the ring from Stirling in April; while Paris’s second confession sends it from the road betwixt Glasgow and Kalendar, in the January preceding. “Elle rescript une lettre, et y mist dedans un an-
“neau *.”

“my hear [hair] in this ring, never to cum furth,
“quhill deith grant unto zow tó ane trophee of
“victorie of my banes; as the ring is fullit, in
“signe that yow haif maid one full conquies of

* Goodall, ii. 78.

“me,

“ me, of myne hart, and unto yat my banes be left
 “ unto yow in remembrance of your victorie, and
 “ my acceptabill lufe and willing, for to be better
 “ bestowit then I merite (1). The ameling that
 “ is about is blak, quhilk signifyis the steidfastnes
 “ of hir that sendis the same. The teiris ar without
 “ number, sa ar the dreddouris to displeis yow, the
 “ teiris of your absence, the disdane that I cannot
 “ be in outward effect zouris, as I am without fen-
 “ zeitnes of hart and spreit; and of gude reffoun,
 “ thocht [though] my meritis wer mekle greiter
 “ then of the maist profite that ever was, and sic as
 “ I desyre to be, and fall tak pane in conditiounis
 “ to imitate, for to be bestowit worthylye under your
 “ regiment.

IV.—“ My only wealth, reffaif thairfoir in als
 “ gude part ye same, as I have reffavit your mar-
 “ riage (2) with extreme joy, the quhilk fall not
 “ part furth of my bosum, quhill yat mariage of
 “ our bodyis be maid in publict, as signe of all that
 “ I outhier hope or desyris of blis in yis warld.”

(1) What all this means, it is not easy to divine.
 “ To” I suppose to be *too*. I have therefore
 printed it “ *tó*.” The mention of “ deith” shews
 “ banes” to mean *bones*. And then the sense, such
 as it is, seems to be this: that she sends the stone as
 an emblem of her heart; that the stone, being
 carved into the form of a sepulchre, represents her
 heart sepulchred in his love; that his name and
 memory are inclosed in her heart as firmly, as
 her

her hair is in the ring; that they shall never part from her heart till she dies; and that the ring is “fullit,” either filled with the hair, or (as I rather think, and as we call the moon a *full* one, when it is quite round) is compleatly circular, in token of his full conquest of her till death.

All this is, as Dr. Robertson observes very justly*, “much refined mysticism about devices, a folly of that age; of which Mary,” he adds, “was very fond, as appears from several other circumstances, particularly from a letter concerning *impresas*, by Drummond of Hawthornden. If Mary’s adversaries forged her letters,” the Doctor proceeds to say, “they were certainly employed very idly when they produced this.” They certainly were. Mary, however fond of devices, could never have written such nonsense as this about them. To be fond of devices, and to write with the folly of a driveler concerning them, are very distinct things; however the Doctor may choose to confound them.

But there is a much greater absurdity than this behind. Mary is made to indulge herself in these silly speculations, at a time when her head and heart must have been full of the great enterprize before her. The pretended seizure of her was to be attempted. She had some persons in her retinue, who would rather die than suffer it. The commandant of her retinue was afraid of their resolution, and trembled for the consequences. It was her decisive stroke, for appropriating Bothwell

* Diff. 34.

to herself. On this critical incident hung the balance of her happiness. And her heart must have been torn with hopes and fears. Yet this very period of her life, and the very last minute of this period, have the forgers chosen; to make her sit down to her table in one stupid apathy of unconcern; to be unthinking of the moment of decision, that was pressing upon her; and to be wholly taken up in hunting some fantastical devices, in pursuing some imaginary resemblances, in marking the course of a butterfly, or in gazing at the combinations of the clouds. And thus the woman, “all whose sensations were exquisite, and all her emotions strong*,” becomes blunt in her sensations and weak in her emotions; at the very instant, when they would naturally have been most exquisite and most strong.

(2) This means the marriage-contract, as it is not to “part furth of her bosom.” It must also mean the second or large one; as the first was only signed by Mary, and would certainly be kept by Bothwell. Yet the second was rather too large to be kept in a Queen’s bosom. It would be too ample, even for a modern *bouquet*. And why should Mary have it, rather than Bothwell? It was signed by both. Indeed this and the other contract were actually kept by Bothwell, “as Jesuits say, who “never lie.” Murray, that *general of the order*, says

* Robertson, i. 386.—This touch of Mary’s character, like a variety of other particulars, is all borrowed from Buchanan, 39, Anderson, ii. and 251, Jebb, i.

so. Morton also, that *prime-assistant* to him, says the same. In their respective receipts for *their own* originals, they mention “ane silver box, ower gilt
 “ with gold, with the missive letteris, *contractis* or
 “ *obligatiounis for marriage*,” &c.; “quhilk box,
 “ and haill pecis within the samin, wer takin and
 “ fund with umquhill George Dalgleische, servand
 “ to the Erle Bothville*.” Bothwell therefore kept the two contracts. And the letter, which intimates Mary to have kept one of them, is as contrary to fact according to the rebels, as it is repugnant to reason in the opinion of others; and is proved by both to be a forgery.

V.—“ Zit my hart feiring to displeis you as
 “ mekle in the reiding heirof, as I delite me in ye
 “ writing, I will mak end; efter that I have kiffit
 “ zour handis with als greit affectioun, as I pray
 “ God (o ye only uphald of my lyfe) to gif yow
 “ lang and blissit lyfe, and to me zour gude favour,
 “ as the only gude yat I desyre, and to ye quhilk I
 “ pretend.

VI.—“ I have schawin unto this beirer that
 “ quhilk I have leirnit, to quhome I remit me,

* Appendix, N^o iv.

“ knawand

“ knawand the credite that ze gaif him ; as fcho
 “ dois, that will be for ever unto zow humbill and
 “ obedient lauchfull wyfe, that for ever dedicates
 “ unto zow hir hart, hir body, without ony change,
 “ as unto him that I have maid possessour of hart ;
 “ of quhilk ze may hald zow assurit, yat unto ye
 “ deith fall na wayis be changeit ; for evill nor gude
 “ fall never mak me go from it.”

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

I HAVE now gone over the letters. It has been a tiresome employ, to read, to transcribe, and to comment upon, such a mass of impertinence and dulness. But it has answered an useful purpose, I trust. The letters have never been examined, with so much strictness before. A regular survey of them was much wanted. Great mistakes had been made, concerning their meaning and their language. These it was requisite to tear away, as the showy pilasters of the old fabrick of forgery; after I had thrown down all the supporting pillars of it. And, having done this, I wish to do one thing more. These letters were first brought into England through Elizabeth, and first given to the publick in England by Elizabeth. She published them, in order *primarily* to blast the character of Mary for *unchastity*, to exhibit her as *a wanton woman* to all the island, and to hang her up as a shameful spectacle of *whoredom* to the eyes of the whole continent. And it is therefore become a necessary act of retributory justice, to close my preceding vindication of Mary from this slander, with some exposure of Elizabeth for the very offence so falsely ascribed by her to Mary.

Elizabeth

— I. —

Elizabeth very early made proud and solemn pretensions, to a life of virgin purity. In 1559, when she was only in the *twenty-sixth* year of her age, and the Commons solicited her to marry; she returned them this high-toned answer. ““ Con-
““ cerning marriage,”” said she, ““ which ye so
““ earnestly move me to; I have been long since
““ perswaded, that I was sent into this world by
““ God, to think and doe those things chiefly,
““ which may tend to his glory. Hereupon have
““ I chosen that kind of life, which is most free from
““ the troublesome cares of this world, that I might
““ attend the service of God alone. From which,
““ if either the tendred marriages of most potent
““ princes, or the danger of death intended against
““ me, could have removed me; I had long ago
““ enjoyed the honour of an husband. And these
““ things have I thought upon, when I was a pri-
““ vate person. But that, now that the publick
““ care of governing the kingdom is laid upon me;
““ to draw upon me also the cares of marriage, may
““ seem a point of inconsiderate folly. Yet, to sa-
““ tisfie you, *I have already joyned myself in marriage*
““ *to an husband, namely the kingdom of England.*
““ And behold,”” “ said she,” ““ which I marvell
““ ye have forgotten, *the pledge of this my wedlock*
““ *and marriage with my kingdom.*”” “ And there-
“ with *she drew the ring from her finger, and shewed*

“ it ; *wherewith*, at her coronation, *she had*, in a set
 “ *form of words*, solemnly given *herself in marriage*
 “ *to her kingdom*. Here having made a pause,
 “ “ And do not,” “ faith she,” “ upbraid me,” &c.
 “ “ To me it shall be a full satisfaction, both for the
 “ “ memoriall of my name, and for my glory also ;
 “ “ if, when I shall let [out] my last breath, it be
 “ “ ingraven upon my marble tomb, HERE LIETH
 “ “ ELIZABETH, WHICH REIGNED A VIRGIN AND
 “ “ DIED A VIRGIN *.” A nun, when she has just
 now taken the veil ; and when those peculiar coro-
 nets of glory, which are supposed to be reserved in
 Heaven for the Holy Virgins of earth, are now
 shining bright before her imagination ; could hardly
 have acted in a livelier manner, and hardly have
 spoken in a stronger language, than this.

Nor was this self-devotion of the royal nun,
 merely the momentary resolution of a young
 woman, uttered in a fervour of intemperate zeal, and
 repented of in the prevalence of passion afterwards.
 It was steadily persisted in, to the last. This a
 memorable passage in Shakespeare very plainly shews
 us. Plays have always been the sure and faithful
 mirrours of the age, in which they were exhibited.
 They have constantly shown “ the very age and body
 “ of the time, his form and pressure.” Shake-
 speare’s, from his quick attention to the moving
 characters and floating passions before him, do pe-
 culiarly so. And he has marked with the spirit of
 a critical discerner, and complimented with the pli-
 ancy of a theatrical writer, this favourite principle
 of virginity in his royal mistress.

* Camden, Orig. i. 35. Trans. 27.

That very time I saw, but thou couldst not,
 Flying between the cold moon and the earth
 Cupid all-arm'd : a certain aim he took
 At A FAIR VESTAL THRONED BY THE WEST,
 And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
 As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts :
 But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft,
 Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon ;
 And THE IMPERIAL VOTRESS PASSED ON
 IN MAIDEN MEDITATION, FANCY-FREE.

And she appears accordingly, to have worne “ the
 “ bridal ring” of England, from her first assumption
 of it in 1559, at the marriage of this female Doge
 with the Adriatick ; to her final illness in January
 1602-3. “ The courtiers—report,” as Camden
 tells us, “ that she *then* commanded that ring,
 “ wherewith she had been (as it were) joined in
 “ marriage to her kingdom at her inauguration,
 “ *and had never since taken off*, to be filed off from
 “ her finger ; because it was so grown into the flesh,
 “ that it could not be drawn off*.”

Yet all this was merely hypocrisy. It was an
 hypocrisy, begun very early, continued very late,
 and persisted in throughout the whole extent of her
 reign. This her conduct to THE EARL OF LEI-
 CESTER decisively shews. “ She answered” to me,
 says the embassadour of Mary in 1564, “ it ap-
 “ peared that I made but small account of my
 “ Lord Robert [Leicester, then only Lord Ro-
 “ bert Dudley], *seeing that I named the Earl of*
 “ *Bedford before him ;*” but said, “ that ere long

* Camden, Orig. ii. 283, Transf. 659.

““ she would make him a far greater Earl, and that
““ I should see it done before my returning home.
““ For she esteemed him as HER BROTHER AND
““ BEST FRIEND, whom she would have herself
““ MARRIED, had she *ever minded to have taken a*
““ *husband.* But, *being determined to end her life in*
““ *virginity,* she wished that the Queen her sister
““ might marry him, AS MEETEST OF ALL OTHER,
““ WITH WHOM SHE COULD FIND IN HER HEART
““ TO DECLARE HER SECOND PERSON,”” that is, to
declare her heir and successor. “ And that the
“ Queen my mistress might have the higher esteem
“ of him, I was required to stay till I should see
“ him made Earl of Leicester and Baron of Den-
“ bigh; which was done at Westminster with great
“ solemnity, the Queen herself helping to put on
“ his ceremonial,” his mantle of state, which our
Sovereigns always helped in putting on, at the
formal creation of an Earl, “ he sitting upon his
“ knees before her with great gravity. But SHE
“ COULD NOT REFRAIN FROM PUTTING HER HAND
“ IN HIS NECK, TICKLING HIM; THE FRENCH
“ AMBASSADOUR AND I STANDING BY. Then
“ she turned, asking me, HOW I LIKED HIM. I an-
“ swered, That, as he was a worthy servant, so he
“ was happy, WHO HAD A PRINCESS WHO COULD
“ DISCERN AND REWARD GOOD SERVICES.—She
“ told me, She was not so much offended with the
“ Queen’s angry letter,” though she had before
declared it “ to be written to her with such
“ despiteful language, that *she thence conjectured all*
“ *friendship and familiarity to be given up;*” “ as that
SHE

“ SHE SEEMED SO FAR TO DISDAIN THE MAR-
 “ RIAGE OF MY LORD OF LEICESTER, which she
 “ had caused Mr. Randolph to propose to her.”
 Afterwards “ she took me to her bed-chamber,
 “ and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers
 “ little pictures wrapped within paper, and their
 “ names written with her own hand upon the papers.
 “ Upon the *first* that she took up, was written MY
 “ LORD’S PICTURE. I held the candle, and *pres-*
 “ *sed* to see that picture so named. She appeared
 “ *loath* to let me see it. Yet my importunity pre-
 “ vailed for a sight thereof, and FOUND IT TO BE
 “ THE EARL OF LEICESTER’S PICTURE. I de-
 “ fired, that I might have it to carry home to my
 “ Queen; WHICH SHE REFUSED, ALLEDGING THAT
 “ SHE HAD BUT THAT PICTURE OF HIS.” And
 the embassadour adds at the close, on Mary’s ask-
 ing him, if he thought Elizabeth as friendly in
 heart as she was in words. “ I answered freely;
 “ that in my judgment there was neither plain
 “ dealing nor upright meaning, but great dissimu-
 “ lation, emulation, and fear, lest her princely qua-
 “ lities should over soon chace her from the king-
 “ dom, as having already hindered her marriage
 “ with the Arch-duke Charles of Austria. *It ap-*
 “ *peared* likewise to me, by her offering unto her
 “ with great appearing earnestness my Lord of
 “ Leicester, WHOM I KNEW AT THAT TIME SHE
 “ COULD NOT WANT,” that is, could not do with-
 out *. Yet this was the woman, who was “ deter-

* Melvill, 47—48, 46, and 53.

“mined to end her life in virginity.” Hypocrisy of speech is always betrayed by its own contrariety of action. That indeed is frequently not hypocritical in promise, which is contradicted eventually in the performance. But that is certainly hypocritical, which continues the speech at the very moment it contradicts it in action. And Elizabeth’s was evidently an hypocrisy of the grossest kind.

— II. —

Yet Leicester was not the only gallant, with whom this determined virgin indulged herself. She had others. A letter of the time shews the fact, in all its sweeping comprehensiveness of profligacy. This letter is written by Mary herself. But it contains merely the intelligence, that was communicated to her by the wife of her keeper, the Countess of Shrewsbury. And Mary relates it all to Elizabeth, not with any view of reproaching her, but with the aim only of shewing the disposition of the Countess towards her.

Mr. Carte indeed, who had merely *heard* of it, says thus concerning it. Nothing else, but Elizabeth’s “insulting her prisoner,” and “upbraiding her in letters with those infamous calumnies,” he tells us, “could have provoked Mary to have wrote her answers, *charging her, and the woman of her bedchamber, with a course of wanton amours; and* naming

“ naming the very persons, that ministered to their
 “ pleasures. The lord treasurer Burleigh took care,
 “ to keep these letters from coming to Elizabeth’s
 “ hands; but preserved them: and they were after-
 “ wards buried two feet under ground, in his son
 “ the Earl of Salisbury’s house, at Hatfield in
 “ Hertfordshire. They were there found a few
 “ years ago, in a stone chest, rolled up in woollen;
 “ and were shewn by the publisher of Burghley’s
 “ papers,” Haynes, who published in 1740, “ to
 “ the late master of the rolls, at his seat at Belbar
 “ in that neighbourhood, and to another venerable
 “ gentleman still living*.” This account shews
 us very clearly, the customary confusedness of all
 traditional notices. Mr. Carte and his informant
 reported each, what each believed to be true.
 But they framed one wild mass of mistakes, in their
 report. They totally mis-understood the exhibitor
 of the letters. They actually fancied the letters
two, when they were only *one*. They actually ima-
 gined “ the woman of the bed-chamber” to Eliza-
 beth, to be equally with Elizabeth herself, “ charged
 “ — with a course of wanton amours;” when no
 “ woman of her bed-chamber” is here noted for
 such a “ course,” and when neither she nor Eliza-
 beth are “ charged” with any at all. And the
 whole narrative of wrapping the letters “ in wool-
 “ len,” of repositing them “ in a stone chest,” and
 of burying all “ two feet under ground in—the Earl
 “ of Salisbury’s house at Hatfield;” is all some re-

* Carte, iii. 828.

lation of *another* event, indistinctly heard by the relator, and untruly applied to the present letter. That such a letter should be so buried, exceeds all power of belief. That one or two letters should be buried in such an ample repository as a stone chest, surpasses all stretch of imagination. And that either it, or any other, should be "preserved" above ground by Cecil for some time; "afterwards" buried in the earth by him; buried too, not even in his own house, but in that of his second son; and all,—in order to keep it from Elizabeth's inspection, as if Elizabeth would ransack the cabinet of the father for it, the cabinet of the son, the libraries of both, and even the very floors of the ground-rooms at the father's; when she could know nothing of the letter, all the time: still more surpasses all stretch of imagination, and still further exceeds all power of belief.

But indeed the pretended fact is disproved by external testimony. "The concealment and discovery," says Mr. Murdin, who published the letter from the Hatfield collection of papers, "as there represented" by Mr. Carte, "is entirely un-supported from any evidence, that is come to my knowledge. The letter itself, in the original, I found *open* amongst the other papers of the Earl of Salisbury's library, without any appearance of design to have it secreted." It might well be "open" *then*, and *then* "without any appearance of design to have it secreted;" when it had been already carried by Mr. Haynes from Hatfield-house to Belbar, and shewn there by him
to

to the master of the rolls and another gentleman. But we next come to a more material point. “And the manner in which it was discovered, as Mr. Carte affirms —, is a circumstance *absolutely unknown* to any *one* person in my Lord Salisbury’s family; as far as I can learn from the *strictest* inquiry, I have made concerning it*.” Such a discovery as this, is an incident so very singular in itself, and so powerfully calculated to strike upon the wonder-loving fancies, and to rest upon the wonder-keeping memories, of all the subordinates particularly, in the family at Hatfield; as would naturally be transmitted from month to month, through two or three generations at least; and could not possibly have been lost in the “few years” only, that preceded Mr. Carte’s writing, who published in 1752, and the *seven* years only, that afterwards preceded Mr. Murdin’s enquiry, who published in 1759. And a negative evidence, so circumstanced, mounts up into positive, and becomes irrefragable.

This letter then was not concealed from Elizabeth. There was no need to conceal it. It was not written by Mary, in any spirit of recrimination upon her, as Mr. Hume additionally suggests it was; and suggests, not, like Mr. Carte, from a verbally communicated mis-representation of it, but even after he had actually perused it himself in print †. Yet the whole tenour of the letter shews it was not. The intelligence in it appears, to have been previously *offered* by Mary, and previously

* Murdin, 560.

† Hist. v. 287.

desired by Elizabeth. This is now delivered by Mary, with *regret* that such things have been said to her, and with a *protestation* that she chid Lady Shrewsbury at the time, for most of them; because she *did not believe them then*, and *does not believe them now*, to be true. She attributed all to the natural disposition of the Countess, and to the spirit of dislike which she then had for Elizabeth. She also declares, that they have not come from her at present, with any design of giving pain to Elizabeth by revealing them; and that they shall never be farther known from her, because she considers them as very false. She accordingly calls God to witness at the beginning, that she has delivered them very sincerely, and without any bias of passion upon her. She again vows “upon her faith and honour” at the end, that the whole is represented as it was delivered. She adds, that if she can have the happiness of a personal conference with Elizabeth, she will then lay open particularly the names, times, places, and other circumstances, of what she has related in this letter; and also of some other stories, which she reserves for the period, when she shall be fully assured of Elizabeth’s friendship. This she desires, she says, more than ever. Nor, if she can obtain it, shall any relation, friend, or even subject, be more faithful and affectionate to Elizabeth, than she shall be. And she concludes the whole in this very affecting manner: “For God’s sake be assured
“ of her, who is willing and able to serve you:
“ From my bed, forcing my arm and my pains, to
“ satisfy and obey you.”

Mary,

Mary, then, wrote this letter from no principle of provocation against Elizabeth. She composed it, from a very opposite principle. She hoped to win upon her generosity, by her explicitness; to procure a personal interview with her, by a promise of still greater explicitness; and to secure her friendliness at last, by both. With this hope, she revealed the conversation of a woman, to whom she owed no friendship; the Countess having insinuated to Elizabeth against her, that she and the Earl were too intimate together. “That—the fidelity of the
 “ Earl of Shrewsbury,” says Camden in 1584,
 “ —might not seem to be suspected (for it was
 “ not thought good openly to blemish so great a
 “ man’s reputation, which, notwithstanding, they
 “ had stained secretly by calumnies, grounded upon
 “ *the false accusations of his ill-conditioned wife,*)
 “ suspicions were laid hold of,” &c.* These calumnies are oddly particularized on his tombstone. It is there said, “that his integrity” in keeping Mary “was not to be suspected in the
 “ least, although evil-disposed persons gave out,
 “ that *he used too much familiarity with his royal*
 “ *prisoner* †.” And it was traditionally reported of his wife near the time, That she “coming to
 “ court, and Elizabeth demanding how the Queen
 “ of Scots did, she said, *Madam, she cannot do ill*
 “ *[in spirits,] while she is with my husband; and I*
 “ *begin to grow jealous, they are so great together* ‡.”

* Camden, Orig. i. 363, Transf. 303.
 Peerage, ii. 419, and i. 297, edit. 4th.
 298.

† Collins’s
 ‡ Collins, i.

But

But Mary herself notices these slanders, in a couple of letters to Mons. Mauvissiere, the French embassadour at London. “ I have written to you
“ amply two times,” she says, “ *concerning these*
“ *abominable reports circulated, of my conversation*
“ *with the Earl of Shrewsbury, issuing only from his*
“ *good wife*; of whom in the end I shall be constrained to take hold with all openness, if the
“ Queen of England will not clear me from this
“ calumny: two considerations only have kept me
“ to the present hour, from seizing the advantage
“ which I have against her, by discovering before
“ the said Queen of England and her council, her
“ private behaviour towards myself, and in my
“ cause with the Earl of Leicester and some other
“ lords of the realm. The first point with me, is
“ to preserve my reputation for integrity and steadiness, among those who are well affected towards
“ me.—The other consideration is this, That
“ though I can particularly charge this unhappy
“ woman with various speeches, boasts, and practices, as well against her Queen, as against me
“ and some lords of this land, yet I fear to do
“ wrong to her husband, because it will be found
“ strange by what means I could have the knowledge of so many of the things.—But there is
“ nothing in the end that I do not hazard, to
“ succeed as far as I can in the preservation of my
“ honour, *which is dearer to me than a thousand*
“ *lives*.—I therefore require you with all the affection that I can, to continue livelyly the course
“ which you have begun, for my reparation under
“ *this*

“ *this detestable calumny.—All these troubles proceed*
 “ *entirely from the Earl of Leicester and from Wal-*
 “ *singham, who, I am certainly informed, have*
 “ *sent to the said countess a copy of the last letters*
 “ *which I have written to you *.*” In another letter
 a little while afterwards to the same person, “ I
 “ pray you,” she says, “ that in order to make
 “ the Queen of England see more clearly *the falsity*
 “ *of mine honourable hostess,* you find means to tell
 “ her betwixt you and her privately, and drawing
 “ (if possible) a promise from her not to reveal it
 “ or call it ever in question, That nothing has ever
 “ alienated her so much from me to the saying the
 “ above of me, as the vain hope conceived by her
 “ to make her [Elizabeth’s] crown fall on the
 “ head of Arabella, her grand-daughter.—And
 “ that it was not possible, without such an imagina-
 “ tion, of making one of her race Queen, for the
 “ said Countess to have been ever diverted from
 “ me, being so strongly attached to me without
 “ reserve of any duty and any respect.”—She then
 mentions a couple of anecdotes, concerning the
 Countess’s “ behaviour to” her. “ I do not desire
 “ at present,” she adds, “ to produce any but these

* Histoire d’Elisabeth Reine d’Angleterre, &c. Par Made-
 moiselle De Keralio, &c. à Paris, v. 361—363, the letter at
 full length, taken from Bibl. Harl. N° 1582, fol. 311. Papiers
 de M. de Breguigny. All the letters of Mary’s to Mauvissiere
 that are in this register, says the author, “ font de la main de
 “ Secrétaire de Mauvissiere Castelnau,” who appears from the
 fact above to have copied his master’s letters, and then to have
 sent them to Walsingham. Such a deep scene of private vil-
 lainy, was carried on by this minister of Elizabeth’s!

“ two little patterns ; by which the Queen of Eng-
 “ land may judge, what the whole and entire piece
 “ can be, woven and finished all the years that
 “ have passed between the Countess and me.—It
 “ will suffice for you to say to the Queen of Eng-
 “ land, that you have understood these particulars
 “ above concerning the said lady, and that you
 “ think assuredly, if it shall please her by some
 “ good way to require friendly from me the
 “ actions of the said Countess, I shall be able to
 “ discover to her some things of much greater im-
 “ portance. But principally gain this point, if
 “ possible, that she keep it secret, without ever
 “ naming you ; you, who have been induced to
 “ reveal such a thing to her, from the affection
 “ which you bear, to the welfare of her govern-
 “ ment, and in order that she may know of a
 “ truth, what trust she ought to have in the said
 “ Countess, of whom you think that with a pre-
 “ sent of two thousand crowns I could gain her as
 “ much as I pleased *.”

For such a woman, so “ detestable a calumnia-
 “ tor,” and so much in league with Walsingham
 and Leicester, Mary had no reason to keep any
 reserves to Elizabeth. She had also pressing rea-
 sons of her own, to open her heart to Elizabeth.
 She found herself ready to be removed, through
 the calumnies of the Countess, out of the care of
 the Earl. She was to be put into the hands of the
 Earl of Huntingdon. “ The partisans of my good

* Keralio, v. 375—377, the letter at full length, from the
 Harleian Library too, N^o 1582, fol. 313.

“ neighbour

“ neighbour the Earl of Huntingdon,” she says in her second letter above, “ I much fear, will not
 “ ever permit any species of friendship between us,
 “ because that then they will have the means of
 “ strength and power to ruin us; which, as I be-
 “ lieve, is their true design *.” To prevent this, if possible, and so to prevent what she foresaw, the murder of herself; she endeavoured to destroy the credit of the woman, by whose insinuations she considered the removal to be meditated, at this moment. She therefore insinuated to Elizabeth by Mauvissiere, as we see above, that the Countess had views upon the crown for her grand-daughter. She also insinuated in a part of the said letter, of which I have given no extract above, That the Countess had voluntarily offered to her, always and whenever Mary’s life should be in danger; or she should wish to remove from thence, she (the Countess) would furnish her with the means of escaping; and, being a woman, she should easily avoid all danger and punishment; and that she assured her, her son Charles resided in London expressly for her service; and to apprise her of all that passed at court, even keeping two strong good horses continually and purposedly, to advertise her with all speed of the death of Elizabeth, who was then ill †. Mauvissiere executed his commission. Elizabeth requested to have the communication from herself, and upon paper. Mary therefore stepped forward to grant her request; to tell her all the conversation of the Countess, concerning the private life of

* Keralio, v. 375.

† Ibid, v. 375—376.

Elizabeth, with a free explicitness; so to soften the marble heart of the Queen at last, by her openness; to make way for a personal conference with her, concerning some points of greater consequence, that she promised and yet reserved; to terminate her long imprisonment, and avert her intended murder. And indeed every generous reader must be sensibly touched, with the view of Mary here; “in an afflicted state of body and health,” as she mournfully told Elizabeth in a letter of 1582*; or, more circumstantially in itself, and more appositely to her present case, lying “in her bed,” as her keeper Paulet wrote in September 1586, “troubled after her old manner with a defluxion, which was fallen down into the side of her neck, and had bereft her of the use of one of her hands †;” now writing to Elizabeth “from her bed,” now “forcing her” rheumatick “arm to write,” and equally “forcing” her mind into an in-attention to *all* “her pains;” in order “to satisfy” Elizabeth’s wishes for the intelligence, to “obey” Elizabeth’s requisitions concerning it, and to play the last and final stake

* Camden, Orig. i. 336, Transf. 279. In May 1581 she writes as mournfully, and more particularly, in another letter to Mauvissiere. She desires him to require from Elizabeth, permission to have “un Coche ou une Littiere” for taking the air; because she is become so feeble and weak, principally in her legs, that she is not able, though she is better than she has been for six months before, *to walk a hundred steps*, “de faire cent pas a pied.” And she additionally informs him, that ever since Easter she has been constrained, to be carried out by her servants in a chair. (Jebb, ii. 519).

† Robertson, ii. 472—473.

probably, for her own deliverance from the fangs of this female CROCODILE, who stood over her at the instant with expanded jaws, ready to devour her immediately, and yet pretended to be wailing in tears over her, all the time.

The contents of this letter, therefore, rest not upon the authority of Mary. She was only the conveyancer of them. She conveyed them, as she expressly tells us, "pretty nearly in the very terms," in which they were delivered to her. All centers upon the credit of the deliverer herself, Lady Shrewsbury. Nor can Mary's pronounced disbelief of them, and Mary's intimated ill-humour in the Countess, and ill-will to Elizabeth particularly, destroy the authority of them.

Mary's amiable credulity of spirit, made her a very incompetent judge in such a case as this. She originally believed, that Elizabeth would receive her friendlily, and assist her heartily, on her flying into England. She next believed, that Elizabeth would restore her to her crown, even *after* the treatment which Elizabeth had already shown her; when the conference was opened at York. And her disbelief of Lady Shrewsbury's anecdotes concerning Elizabeth, only serves to show us again in her, a heart still incapable of such outrages of conduct, and a spirit still actuated with a weak generosity of faith.

Nor can any ill-humour in Lady Shrewsbury, or any ill-will that she had conceived against Elizabeth, destroy the credit of the original relator. She might be ill-tempered. She might be prejudiced

also. But this cannot supersede her testimony. She must have prejudices, if she believed only half of what she said to be true. These might unite with her natural temper, to make her tell such secrets. But they cannot prove them false. Indeed the particular ill-will is the natural consequence of their very truth. And, as to the general ill-humour, in what court is the temper of a witness allowed to be pleaded, in order to set aside his evidence? She was in fact a woman sagacious and judicious; eminently qualified to see, to remember, and to make her own use of, the striking qualities of the persons about her*. She was also a lady of high rank and quality, in the court of Elizabeth. She there saw the procedure of the Queen herself. She there heard of it from others too. She reported to Mary, what she heard and saw. She reported both, with the authenticating additions of some names, and of many circumstances, at length. And therefore to reject her

* “In this third widow-hood,” says Kennet of her, “she
 “had not survived her charms of wit and beauty; by which she
 “captivated the then greatest subject of the realm, George Earl
 “of Shrewsbury; whom she brought to terms of the greatest
 “honour and advantage to herself and children.—On Nov. 18,
 “1509 [1590] she was a fourth time left, and to death conti-
 “nued, a widow. A change of conditions, that perhaps never
 “fell to any one woman, to be four times a creditable and
 “happy wife; to rise by every husband into greater wealth and
 “higher honours; to have an unanimous issue by one husband
 “only; to have all those children live, and all, by her advice,
 “be honourably and creditably disposed of in her life-time;
 “and, after all, to live seventeen years a widow, in absolute
 “power and plenty.” Collins, i. 296—297.

intimations

intimations as apocryphal, would be to shut the ear to argument, to dash evidence aside because it is evidence against Elizabeth, and to exclaim in all the obstinacy of *convicted* folly, “Non persuadebis
“ etiamsi persuadearis.” The lewdness of Elizabeth sufficiently appears from other testimony. This only carries on the lewdness, and exhibits it in a more full and diversified manner.

For that reason, I shall now give it to my reader, like the letters before, broken properly into numbered paragraphs; first in the original, and afterwards in a translation, each running parallel with the other in every page. To both I shall add several notes, for the fuller authentication of their notices. I shall then draw out historically some of the most distinguished parts of it, and exhibit them with their proper accompaniments, to the more particular inspection of my reader. And I shall thus set Elizabeth with truth, in that very point of *lurid light*; in which she has so vainly attempted by falsehoods, to set Mary*.

* An *abstract* of this letter has been published already by Mr. Hume, v. 286—287; and the *original* by Dr. Stuart, ii. 209—211, and from him by Keralio, v. 356—360. But no *translation* of it has been yet presented to the publick. Nor has the original itself been stated correctly.

— III. —

A LETTER FROM QUEEN MARY TO QUEEN
ELIZABETH. (1).

I.—“ Suivant ce que je vous ay promis et auvez
“ despuis desire, je vous declare ores, qu’ aveques
“ regret que telles choses foyent ammenees en
“ question, mays tres sincerement et sans aucune
“ passion, dont japelle mon Dieu a tesmoing, que
“ la Comtesse de Schreusbury madit de vous ce
“ qui fuit, au plus pres de ces termes: a la plus
“ part de quoy je proteste avoir respondu, re-
“ prenant la ditte Dame de

I.—“ According to what I have promised you
“ and you have desired, I declare to you now,
“ that with regret that such things have been
“ brought into question, but very sincerely and
“ without any passion, for which I appeal to my
“ God as witness, that the Countess of Shrewsbury
“ told me what follows concerning you, pretty
“ nearly in these terms: to the most part of which
“ I protest to have replied, reprehending the said
“ lady for

(1) Murdin, 558—560.

“ croire

“ croire ou parler si lisentieusement de vous,
 “ comme chose, que je ne croyois point, ni croy a
 “ present; congnoissant le naturel de la Comptesse,
 “ et de quel esprit elle estoit alors poulsee contre
 “ vous.”

II.—“ Premièrement, qu’ un, auquel elle disoit
 “ que vous aviez faict promesse de mariage devant
 “ une dame de vostre chambre, avoit couché in-
 “ finies foys avecques vous, avec toute la licence
 “ et privaulte qui se peut user entre mari et fem-
 “ me; mais qu’ indubitablement vous nestiez pas
 “ comme les aultres femmes, et pour ce respect
 “ cestoit folle a tous ceulx, qui affectoient vostre
 “ mariage avec Monsieur le Duc d’Anjou, d’
 “ aultant qu’ il ne ce pourroit accomplir; et que

“ believing or talking so freely of you; as matter,
 “ that I did not believe, and do not believe at
 “ present, knowing the nature of the Countess,
 “ and with what spirit she was then egged on
 “ against you.”

II.—“ First, that one, to whom she said you
 “ had made a promise of marriage before a lady
 “ of your bed-chamber, had lain down infinite
 “ times with you, with all the freedom and fami-
 “ liarity that can be used betwixt a husband and
 “ wife; but that undoubtedly you was not as other
 “ women are, and for this reason it was folly in all
 “ those, who favoured your marriage with Monsieur
 “ the Duke of Anjou, because it could never be
 “ consummated; and that you would not ever give

“ vous ne voudriez jamais perdu [perdre] la
 “ liberte de vous fayre fayre l’amour, et auvoir
 “ vostre plesir tousjours auueques nouveaux amou-
 “ reulx : regretant ce, disoit elle, que l’ous [vous]
 “ ne vous contentiez de Maister Haton, et un
 “ aultre de ce royaulme ; mayz que, par l’honneur
 “ du pays, il luy faschoit de plus, que vous aviez
 “ non seullement engasge vostre honneur auueques
 “ un estrangier nomme Simier, l’ a lant [alant]
 “ trouver de nuit en la chambre d’une dame, que
 “ la dicte Comtesse blasmoit fort a ceste occasion
 “ la, ou vous le baifiez, et usiez avec luy de
 “ diverses privaultes deshonnestes,

“ up the liberty, of bespeaking love, and of having
 “ your pleasure continually with new lovers : re-
 “ gretting this, said she, that you would not be
 “ content with Master Haton, and one other of
 “ this realm ; but that, for the honour of the
 “ country, she was most grieved, that you not
 “ only had pawned your honour with a stranger of
 “ the name of Simier, going to find him by night
 “ in the chamber of a lady, whom the said Countess
 “ blamed greatly for this business, where you
 “ kissed him, and used divers dishonest familiarities
 “ with him,

“ mayz aussi luy revelliez les segretz du royaulme,
 “ trahissant vos propres conseillers auueques luy.”

“ but also revealed the secrets of the realm to him,
 “ betraying to him your own counsellors.”

III.—“ Que

III.—“ Que vous estiez desportez de la mesme
 “ dissolution, avec le Duc son Maystre, qui vous
 “ avoit este trouver une nuit a la porte de vostre
 “ chambre, ou vous laviez rancontre avec vostre
 “ seule chemise et manteau de nuit; et que par
 “ apres vous laviez laisse entrer; et qu’ il demeura
 “ avecques vous pres de troys heures.”

IV.—“ Quant au dict Haton, que vous le
 “ couriez a force, fayfant si publiquement paroître
 “ l’amour que luy portiez, que luy mesmes estoit
 “ contraint a s’en retirer; et que vous donnastes
 “ un soufflet a Kiligreu, pour ne vous avoir ramene
 “ le dict Haton, que vous aviez envoiay rappeler
 “ par luy, s’estant desparti en chollere d’ avecques
 “ vous, pour quelques injures que luy aviez dittes,

III.—“ That you behaved with the same dis-
 “ soluteness, towards the Duke his Master, who
 “ had been to find you one night at the door of
 “ your bed-chamber, where you met him with
 “ only your shift and bed-gown on; and that
 “ afterwards you suffered him to enter; and that
 “ he stayed with you nearly three hours.”

IV.—“ As to the said Haton, that you ran him
 “ down by violence, making the love which you
 “ bore him appear so publick, that he himself was
 “ constrained to retire from you; and that you
 “ gave Kiligreu a box on the ear, because he had
 “ not brought back the said Haton, whom you
 “ had sent him to recall, and who had departed
 “ from you in wrath, for some reproaches which
 “ pour

“ pour certains boutons dor qu’il [qu’il] auvoit
 “ sur son habit.”

V.—“ Qu’ elle auvoit travaille de fayre epouser
 “ au dit Haton la feu Comtesse de Lenox sa fille
 “ (1); mays que, de creinte de vous, il ne osoit
 “ entendre [entreprendre];

“ you had uttered to him, on account of certain
 “ buttons of gold which he had upon his clothes.”

V.—“ That she had laboured to make a match,
 “ between the said Haton and the late Countess
 “ of Lenox her daughter (1); but, for fear of you,
 “ durst not enterprize it :”

“ que mesmes le comte d’Oxford n’osoit ce rap-
 “ pointer avecques sa femme, de peur de perdre la
 “ faveur, qu’ il esperoit recepvoir par vous fayre
 “ l’amour *.”

“ that even the Earl of Oxford durst not re-accord
 “ with his wife, for fear of losing the favour, which
 “ he hoped to receive by making love to you *.”

(1) This was her second daughter by Sir William Cavendish, a former husband; who was married to Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, the younger brother of Mary’s Lord Darnly (Collins, i, 296). She was now dead, when this letter was written.

* I should not have understood this passage, if it had not been for the following notice in Cecil’s own diary. “ 1576, March 29,” says Cecil, who often puts in posterious events under a date for a prior one, “ the Erle of Oxford arryved, being returned out of Italy; he was entyced by certen lewd persons to be a *stranger to his wiff*” (Murdin, 778).

VI.—“ Que

VI.—“ Que vous estiez prodigue envers toutes
 “ telles gens, et ceulx qui ce mesloient de telles
 “ mesnees; comme a un de vostre chambre,
 “ Gorge, auquel vous auviez donne troys centz
 “ ponds de rante *, pour vous auvoir apporte les
 “ nouvelles du retour de Halton [Haton]: qu’ a
 “ toutz aultres vous estiez fort ingrate [et] chifche;
 “ et qu’il ni avoit que troys ou quatre en vostre
 “ royaulme, a qui vous ayez jamays faict bien.”

VII.—“ Me conseillant, en riant extrefmement,
 “ mettre mon filz sur les rancs pour vous fayre
 “ l’amours [amour]; comme chose, qui me servi-
 “ roit grandement, et mettroit Monsieur le Duc

VI.—“ That you was profuse to all such per-
 “ sons, and those who meddled with such prac-
 “ tises; as to one Gorge of your bed-chamber,
 “ to whom you had given three hundred pounds in
 “ rents *, because he had brought you the news of
 “ Haton’s return: that to all others you was very
 “ ungrateful and niggardly; and that there were but
 “ three or four persons in your realm, to whom
 “ you had ever been bountiful.”

VII.—“ Counselling me, while she laughed ex-
 “ tremely, to enter my son in the lists for making
 “ love to you; as a matter, that would greatly
 “ serve me, and would dislodge Monsieur the

* Sir Thomas Gorge, to whom she afterwards gave “ the
 “ keeping of Gilford Park” (Murdin, 801).

“ hors de quartier, qui me feroit tres prejudifiable
 “ si il i continuoit :

“ Duke from his quarters, who would prove very
 “ prejudicial to me, if he continued there :

“ et lui repliquant, que cela feroit pris pour une
 “ vraye moquerie, elle me respondit, que vous
 “ estiez si vayne et en si bonne opinion de vostre
 “ beaute, comme si vous estiez quelque deesse du
 “ ciel ; qu'elle prandroit sur la teste, de le vous
 “ fayre croire facilement, et entretiendrait [entre-
 “ tiendrez] mons filz en ceste humeur *.”

“ and on my replying, that this would be taken for
 “ an absolute mockery, she answered me, that you
 “ was as vain, and had as good an opinion of your
 “ beauty, as if you were some goddess of the
 “ sky ; that she would take it upon her life, she
 “ could easily make you believe it, and you would
 “ receive my son in this light *.”

VIII.—“ Que

* This hint, however astonishing, proved true in the event. In January 1586, Morgan, who was (as Mary very justly says) “ the chiefe, and almost the onely, finder out and director of all
 “ the intercourse of intelligence, I have had these many years
 “ past,” tells her from France ; that “ this court is informed,
 “ that the King your sonne *should marrye the Queen of England ;*
 “ God forbid, he should be so matched.” And Mons. Fontenay says in the same year, that “ fleur Robert Melvil, et aultres con-
 “ seillers d'estat, m'ont assureé qu'il faict traiter par Gray,” who was gained over to Elizabeth, “ *son mariage avec la Rôyne*
 “ *d'Angleterre*” (Murdin, 514, 468, and 550). In 1586, James

VIII.—“ Que vous preniez si grand plesir en
 “ flateries hors de toute rayson, que l'on vous disoit,
 “ comme de dire, qu'on ne vous osoit par foy
 “ regarder a plain, d'autant que vostre face luy-
 “ soit comme le soleill; qu'elle, et tous les aultres
 “ dames de la court, estoins contraintes d'en user;
 “ et qu'en son dernier voyage vers vous, elle et la
 “ feu Comtesse de Lenox, parlant a vous, n'osoient
 “ s'entreregarder l'une et l'autre, de peur de s'eclater
 “ de rire des cassades quelle vous donnoit [donnoit];
 “ me priant a son retour de tancer sa fille, quelle
 “ n'avoit jamais sceu persuader de fayre le mesme:

VIII.—“ That you took so great a pleasure in
 “ flatteries beyond all reason, that it had been said
 “ to you expressly, that there was no venturing at
 “ times to look full upon you, because your face
 “ shone like the sun; that she, and other ladies of
 “ the court, were constrained to use this language;
 “ and that, in her last journey to you, she and the
 “ late Countess of Lenox, while she was speaking to
 “ you, durst not look the one towards the other,
 “ for fear of bursting out into a laugh, at the flams
 “ which she was putting upon you; praying me at
 “ her return, to rebuke her daughter, whom she
 “ could not ever persuade to do the same: and, as

was *twenty*, and Elizabeth *fifty-one*. So fully is this very improbable intimation in the letter, confirmed by the voice of facts afterwards! And so strongly does this confirmation tend, to prove the general justness of the other intimations!

“ et

“ et, quant a sa fille Talbot *, elle s’assuroit qu’elle
 “ ne fauldroit jamays de vous rire au nez.”

“ to her daughter Talbot *, she was sure she could
 “ not ever refrain from laughing in your face.”

IX.—“ La dict dame Talbot, lors quelle vous
 “ alla fayre la reverance, et donne [donner] le ser-
 “ ment, comme l’une de voz servantes, a son retour
 “ imediatement, me le comtant comme une chose
 “ fayte en moquerie, me pria de l’accepter pareill,
 “ mays plus ressent et entier vers moy; du quel
 “ je feiz long tems refus; mays a la fin, a force de
 “ larmes, je la faissay faire: disant quelle ne voul-
 “ droit, pour chose du mond, estre en vostre ser-
 “ vice pres de vostre personne, d’autant quelle au-
 “ roit peur que, quand seriez en cholere, ne luy

IX.—“ The said lady, Talbot, when she went
 “ to perform the reverence, and to take the oath to
 “ you, as one of your servants, immediately on her
 “ return relating the act to me [Mary], as an act
 “ done in mockery, begged me to accept the like,
 “ but more felt and full towards me; which I re-
 “ fused a long time; but at last, constrained by
 “ her tears, I suffered her to do it: she saying,
 “ that she would not, for any thing in the world,
 “ be in your service near your person, because she
 “ should be in fear, that when you was in wrath,

* This was her third daughter, Mary, married to Gilbert Talbot, eldest son to her present husband (Collins, i. 296).

“ fiffies comme a fa cousine Skedmur; a qui vous
 “ auviez rompu son doibt, faciant a croire a ceulx
 “ de la court, que cestoit un chandelier qui estoit
 “ tombe deffubz; et qu’ a une aultre vos fervant a
 “ talle [table], auviez donne un grand coup de
 “ cousteau, sur la mayn.”

X.—“ Et en un mot, pour ces derniers pointz
 “ et communs petitz raportz, croyez que vous esti-
 “ ez jouee et contrefaicte par elles, comme en
 “ comedie entre mes femmes mesmes; ce qu’
 “ apercevant, je vous jure, que je defendis a mes
 “ femmes ne ce plus mesler.”

XI.—“ Davantafge, la dicte Comtesse ma
 “ autrefoys

“ you would do to her as you did to her cousin
 “ Skedmur; one of whose fingers you broke, and
 “ made those of the court believe, that it was
 “ broken by a chandelier falling down from above;
 “ and that you gave another lady, as she was wait-
 “ ing upon you at table, a great blow with a knife
 “ upon the hand.”

X.—“ And in a word, because of these last
 “ points, and common petty reports, you may be-
 “ lieve that you was acted and represented by my
 “ women, as in a comedy among themselves; and,
 “ finding it out, I swear to you, that I forbad my
 “ women from meddling in such work any more.”

XI.—“ Further, the said Countess at another
 “ time

“ adver-

“ advertie, que vous voulliez appointer Rolson *;
 “ *pour me fayre l'amour, et essayer de me deshonorer,*
 “ *soyt in effect ou par mauvais bruit; de quoy IL*
 “ AVOYT INSTRUCTIONS DE VOSTRE BOUSCHE
 “ PROPRE: que Ruxby * veint ici, il i a environ

“ apprized me, that you would fain have appointed
 “ Rolson * *to make love to me, and try to dishonour*
 “ *me, either in fact or by evil report; for which HE*
 “ HAD INSTRUCTIONS FROM YOUR OWN MOUTH:
 “ that Ruxby * came here about eight years ago,

“ VIII

* Who this Rolson (or perhaps Rolston) was; I know not. Such a wretch, indeed, may well be suffered to sink unknown in his own infamy. But Ruxby, I doubt not, is the very man who is thus mentioned by Melvill, in 1566. Elizabeth complained to Mary, he says, with one of her usual back-strokes of policy, “ against one Mr. Ruxbie, who was harboured in Scotland, being a rebel and a papist;” yet “ this Ruxbie was *sent in hither*” by the very minister of Elizabeth; or, as the truth really was, he was *won over* by that minister after he had gone of his own accord to Edinburgh (Keith, 338); “—to essay *what he could draw out of her Majesty [Mary], to give advertisement thereof to Secretary Cecil*” (p. 68—69). This fact is too well authenticated by collateral testimonies in Keith, 338, his Appendix, 169, and Haynes, 445—447; to be overset by a bold falsehood; which Melvill has had the effrontery to insert into his history of it. Ruxby, he tells us, “ addressed himself unto the Queen’s Majesty [Mary] *by the Bishop of Ross, who was a Catholick; the said Bishop desiring her Majesty to be secret*” (p. 68—69): when Ruxby himself assures us, that on his arrival at Edinburgh he sent for *this very historian himself*, that he gave *this very historian* a letter from one Lassels to the Queen, and that the night afterwards *this very historian* introduced him to the Queen (Haynes, 446). This extraordinary perversion of the truth, which was first observed by Goodall (Preface, xxii—xxv), was evidently made

“ VIII ans, pour *atempter a ma vie*; ayant PARLE

“ to *make an attempt upon my life*; having TALKED

made by Melvill, in order to throw off from himself the disgrace of having introduced this English traitor to Mary, and to arrogate to his brother the honour of having detected him. For detected he was, though in all probability *not* by the brother of him who introduced him. He was detected, not (as Melvill says, p. 70) *before* June the 19th and the Queen's delivery, but (as Ruxby says himself, Haynes, 447) *after* Killigrew's arrival at Edinburgh, who arrived not till the *middle* of July (Keith, App. 169). See also a letter of his, Keith, Hist. 338, dated July 2d, 1566. He was detected *before* he had time, to convey any of his secret papers to the chambers of Killigrew (Haynes, 447); and not, as Melvill falsely adds again, *after* he had sent many letters of intelligence into England (p. 71 and 74). Then he “fell immediately upon his knees, granting himself worthy of a thousand deaths, humbly craving pardon” (Melvill, 69). Yet he was not put to death. He was only sent a prisoner to the castle of Spynie in Murray (Haynes, 447). Mary thus enabled him on his escape out of prison, to attempt the still higher villainy of the text, against her. Nor was it long, before he escaped. He was a prisoner, he says himself, only “a yere and three quarters” (Haynes, 447). By that time, Mary had been thrown into a prison herself; and rebellion, in the form of Murray, was perking proudly on her throne. Then Ruxby was not to be overlooked by those, whom he had been endeavouring to serve before. He had been introduced to Mary, in order to know her secrets and to betray them; by that *James Melvill*, who united with the rebels immediately (p. 85). He carried on his short-lived perfidies afterward, in concert with *Andrew Carr* (Keith, App. 169); that very man, who had been one of the most savage of all Rizzio's murderers before (see p. 76 of this volume). And these two facts unite with his release by *Murray*, to show what a tool he was originally, in the hands of Elizabeth and the rebels; and how proper an instrument in her and their hands, for the present villainy.

“ A VOUS MESMES, qui luy auviez dit, quil fit ce A
 “ QUE WALSINGHAM LUY COMMENDEROIT ET
 “ DIRIGEROIT *.”

“ WITH YOU YOURSELF, who had told him, that
 “ it was the business to which WALSINGHAM
 “ WOULD RECOMMEND AND DIRECT HIM *.”

“ XII.—

* This very striking addition to the brutal and murderous part of Elizabeth's character, is wonderfully confirmed in general by the evidence of history. Mary, says Camden in 1584, “ heard that she was, through the crafty contrivance of *some*, to “ be removed from the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who “ was a downright honest man, and favoured not THEIR AT- “ TEMPTS; and committed to new keepers.” These attempts are also noticed by Mary herself, in a letter of 1582 to Elizabeth; and declared to be attempts upon her *life*, made by some of Elizabeth's *privy-counsellors* (No. xvii). “ Accordingly,” as Camden adds, “ she was removed from the Earl of Shrewsbury,— “ and committed to the custody of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir “ Drue Drury——. For the Earl of Shrewsbury had kept her “ for fifteen years, with such wariness and circumspection, that “ he had PREVENTED ALL POSSIBLE WAYS OF ATTEMPT- “ ING ANY THING, either for her or AGAINST HER. But, “ NOW,——LEICESTER PRIVILY SENT CERTAIN CUT- “ THROAT MURDERERS, AS SOME REPORT, TO TAKE AWAY “ HER LIFE. But Drury, being a sincere honest man, and “ detesting from his heart so foul a deed, denied them access to “ her” (Transf. 303—304, Orig. i. 363—364). This sufficiently corroborates the narration of Lady Shrewsbury, here. Her's is the particular detail, of which Camden's is only the abstract. Both exhibit Elizabeth in all the flaming colours, of an

Ate, hot from Hell.

Walsingham, too, is thus spoken of by Mary herself, at her trial in 1586: “ that she was afraid this,” the counterfeiting of letters

XII.—“ Quant la dicte Comtesse poursuivoit le
 “ mariage de son filz Charles *, auveques une des
 “ niepees du milord Paget ; et que, daultre part,
 “ vous voulliez lavoit par pure et absolue auctho-
 “ rite, pour un des Knoles, pour ce quil estoit
 “ vostre parent ; elle crioit fort contre vous, et
 “ disoit que cestoit une vraye tyrannie, voulant a
 “ vostre fantasie enlever toutes les heritieres du
 “ pays ; et que vous aviez indignement use le dit
 “ Paget par parolles injurieuses ; mays qu’ enfin la
 “ noblesse de ce royaume ne le vous souffrisoit pas

XII.—“ When the said Countess prosecuted the
 “ marriage of her son Charles *, with one of the
 “ nieces of my Lord Paget ; and when you, on the
 “ other hand, wanted to have her by pure and abso-
 “ lute authority, for one of the Knoles, because he
 “ was your relation ; she exclaimed against you, and
 “ said that it was an actual tyranny, in wanting to carry
 “ off at your fancy all the heiresses in the land ; and
 “ that you had used the said Paget with indignity,
 “ by abusive words ; but that at last the nobles of
 “ this realm would not suffer this from you, if you

letters in her name, “ was done by WALSINGHAM, who (as she
 “ heard) HAD PRACTISED both AGAINST HER LIFE and her
 “ son’s” (Camden, Transf. 355, Orig. i. 424). And the histo-
 rical confirmation of these private anecdotes, in a point of all
 others that presses *most* upon the reputation of Elizabeth, lends a
 powerful and decisive credit to them.

* Her third son by Sir William Cavendish, mentioned in one
 of the two letters above.

“ mesmement, si vous adressiez a telz aultres, quelle
 “ connoissoit bien †.”

“ addressed yourself to some other ladies, whom she
 “ knew well †.”

XIII.—“ Il y a environ quatre ou cinq ans, que
 “ vous estant malade, et moy aussi au mesmes
 “ temps; elle me dit, que vostre mal provenoit *de*
 “ *la closture d'une fistulle, que vous aviez dans une*
 “ *jambe* *; et que sans doubte, venant a perdre voz

XIII.—“ About four or five years ago, when
 “ you was sick, and I also at the same time; she
 “ says to me, that your sickness proceeded from *the*
 “ *closing up of an ulcer, which you had in one leg* *;

† Thomas Lord Paget, who succeeded his brother Henry in 1569 (Collins, iv. 326); whom Camden compliments so much, as to say of his death, that “ to the commonwealth of learning he left a sad miss of himself”; and Mr. Charles Arundel with him; “ privily fled the land” in 1584, “ and withdrew themselves into France: where, with others devoted to the Romish religion, they heavily bewailed and complained amongst themselves, that the Queen was, without any fault or desert of theirs, alienated from them by the subtile artifices of Leicester and Walsingham, that they were *unworthily disgraced* and *ignominiously used*,” &c. (Camden, Transf. 294 and 439, Orig. i. 353—354 and ii. 19). This forms another corroboration, of the general authenticity of these anecdotes. And there is a remarkable coincidence, in the expressions of the letter and of the history. “ Que vous aviez indignement use le dit Paget par parolles injurieuses,” is echoed back in, “ se contumeliis et ignominiis indignis affici.”

* This is the only writing of the time, I believe, that notices the present circumstance concerning the person of Elizabeth.

“ moys,

“ moys †, vous mourriez bien tost ; s’en rejouissant
 “ sur une vayne imagination, quelle a eue de long
 “ temps, par les predictions d’un nomme Jon
 “ Lenton, et d’un vieulx liuvre, qui prediroit vostre
 “ mort par violence, et la succession dune aultre
 “ royne, quelle interpretoit estre moy ; regretant
 “ seulement, que par le dit liuvre il estoit predict,
 “ que la royne, qui vous deubroit succeder, ne
 “ regneroit que trois ans, et mourroit comme vous
 “ par violence ; ce qui estoit represente mesme en
 “ peinture, dans le dit liuvre ; auquel il y avoyt un
 “ dernier feuillet, le contenu duquel elle ne ma
 “ jamais voulu dire. Elle scait elle mesme,

“ and that without doubt, as you was coming to
 “ lose your menses †, you would die soon : pleasing
 “ herself upon it, in a vain imagination which she
 “ has had a long time, from the prophecies of one
 “ called John Lenton, and of an old book, that
 “ foretold your death by violence, and the succeed-
 “ ing of another queen, whom she interpreted to
 “ be me ; regretting only, that by the said book it
 “ was foretold, that the queen, who must succeed
 “ you, should reign only three years, and should
 “ die like you by violence ; which was represented
 “ even in painting, upon the said book ; of which
 “ there was a concluding leaf, containing something
 “ which she never chose to tell me. She knows

† Elizabeth was born in September 1533. In 1579, there-
 fore, she was 46. And “ four or five years” more carry us to
 1583-4.

“ que jay tousjours pris cela pour une propre fol-
 “ lie †; mays elle fesoit bien son compte, destre la
 “ premiere aupres de moy ||, et mesmement que

“ herself, that I [Mary] always took this for pure
 “ folly †; but she did lay her account well, to be
 “ the principal lady with me ||, and also that my son
 “ mon

† All this serves to shew the propriety, of Shakespeare's scenes of the Weir Sisters, &c.; as adapted to his own age. In the remote period of Macbeth, it might well be presumed, the popular faith mounted up into all the wildest extravagance described by him. In his own age it rose, as in Lady Shrewsbury here, and in Lady Derby (Camden, Transf. 529, Orig. ii. 129), into a belief in the verbal predictions of some reputed prophet then alive, or into a reliance upon the written predictions of some dead one. And Shakespeare might well endeavour to expose such a faith, when we see here, that though it could not lay hold of Queen Mary, yet it fastened firmly upon such a woman of the world, as Lady Shrewsbury.

|| This shows what dependence was made upon Elizabeth's dying without issue, and on Mary's succeeding to the throne. We see it also in one of the two letters above; when the Countess's son Charles is said to have purposedly resided in London, in order to apprize her of all that passed at court; and particularly to have kept two good and able horses continually ready, in order to bring her the earliest intelligence of the sick Elizabeth's death. Even the very same sentiment as this in the text, is intimated in the same letter; the Countess there saying, “ que,
 “ quand je eusse esté sa propre royne, n'eust sceu faire davantage
 “ en moy” (Keralio, v. 375). And had this, not improbable, event actually taken place; what a different complexion would our history have assumed, from what it wears at present. Mary would have been carried from a prison to a throne. Her wise conduct in prison, would have been applauded by all. From Tutbury, from Sheffield, and from Chatsworth, she would have been

“ mon filz epouferoit ma niepce Arbela §.”

“ should marry my niece Arbela §.”

XIV.—“ Pour la fin, je vous jure encores un
“ coup sur ma foy et honneur*, que ce que defubs

XIV.—“ At the close, I swear again all at once
“ upon my faith and honour*, that what is above
“ est

been said to have touched, with a gentle and a masterly hand, the springs that actuated all the nation; to have been artfully winding them up to their full height, against the death of her tyrannical cousin; and thus to have fled out of one kingdom, in order to gain a second by her address, and to recover the first by the consequence. So ductile is history in the hands of Man! And so peculiarly does it bend to the force of success, and warp with the warmth of prosperity!

§ Charles, Earl of Lenox, had by his wife Elizabeth, and left at his death in 1576 (Douglas's Peerage, 402), only one child, a lady Arabella Stuart, mentioned in one of the letters before.

* Let not the *modern* reader be hurt here and in paragraph x, at a Lady, a Queen, and a Mary *swearing*. To *aver upon faith and honour*, was *then* called *swearing*, equally with a solemn appeal to GOD; and considered as the same with it. This is plain from the passage immediately before us. “ I swear—upon my faith
“ and honour,” she says expressly. She also says she does this
“ again;” thus referring to the commencement of the letter, where she “ appeals to her God as witness.” And thus Shakespeare makes Othello to represent Desdemona, as acting; in a passage that I have often condemned, before I saw this easy explanation of it, as one among many proofs of Shakespeare's inability, to exhibit the delicate graces of female conversation:

She *swore*, In *faith* 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange,
'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful.

“ est tres veritable ; et que ce qui conferne vostre
 “ honneur, il ne mest jamays tombe en l’entende-
 “ ment, de vous fayre tort par le reveller ; et qu’il
 “ ne ce scaura jamays par moy, le tenant pour tres
 “ faulx. Si je puis avoir cest heur de parler a vous, je
 “ vous diray plus particulierement les noms, tems,
 “ lieux, et aultres circonstances, pour vous fayre
 “ congnoistre la verite, et de cessi, et d’aultres
 “ choses, que je reserve quant je seray tout a fayct
 “ assuree de vostre amitie* ; laquelle comme je de-

“ is very true ; and that such of it as concerns your
 “ honour, has never fallen from me with a design
 “ to give you pain by revealing it ; and that it shall
 “ never be known from me, who consider it as very
 “ false. If I can have that happiness to speak with
 “ you, I will tell you more particularly the names,
 “ times, places, and other circumstances, to make
 “ you understand the truth, both of these things,
 “ and of others, which I reserve till I shall be wholly
 “ assured of your friendship* ; which as I desire

This remark, therefore, serves at once to justify Desdemona and Queen Mary, and to show what kind of swearing is used by both ; not a bold and masculine oath put into the mouth of Desdemona, such as Elizabeth frequently used, but a merely earnest affirmation upon her faith ; and not such an oath used by the pen of Mary, but an equally earnest affirmation upon her faith and honour, which she considered as the same with a solemn appeal to God.

* What were these “ other” things, which Mary reserved for the ear of Elizabeth ? They were, no doubt, those points in the Countess of unfaithfulness to Elizabeth and to her trust, and of views upon the crown, on which Mary dwells so particularly in her two letters to Mauvissiere, but of which she hints that she has much more to tell.

“ fire

“ fire plus que jamays, aussi si je la puis ceste foys
 “ obtenir, vous neustes jamays parente, amy, ny
 “ mesmes subjet, plus fidelle et affectionnee que je
 “ vous seray. Pour Dieu asseurez vous de celle,
 “ qui vous veult et peult servir.”

XV.—“ De mon lit, forcant mon bras et mes
 “ douleurs, pour vous satisfayre et obeir.”

“ MARIE. R †.”

“ more than ever, so if I can obtain it this time,
 “ you shall not have a relation, friend, or even sub-
 “ ject, more faithful and affectionate than I shall
 “ be to you. For God’s sake rest assured of her,
 “ who is willing and able to serve you.”

XV.—“ From my bed, forcing my arm and my
 “ pains, to satisfy and obey you.”

“ MARIE. R †.”

IV.

† This letter is without a date to it, of either time or place. But it was plainly written, *before* Lord Shrewsbury was deprived of the care of Mary in 1584. And it was written only *just a little before*; as the hints preceding from Lady Shrewsbury concerning the *age* of Elizabeth, and the intimation from Mary concerning the “ four or five years ago,” concur to show us. It was written, no doubt, just after the two leading letters to Mauvissiere above; one of which is dated the 26th of February 1584, the other the 21st of March 1584, and both from the Earl of Shrewsbury’s house at Sheffield (Keralio, v. 363 and 378); and in that troublous and distracted part of 1584, in which Paget and Arundel fled abroad; when “ counterfeit letters were privily sent
 “ in

— IV. —

This letter is replete with intelligence of the most curious kind, for laying open the private life of Elizabeth. It shows us all the hidden and secret parts of her character, as in a magical glass. We have been too long employed in admiring her, for the strength and vigour of her spirit. We now come to have a full view of her. The glare of

“ in the name of the Queen of Scots and the fugitives, and left
“ in Papist’s houses;” when “ spies were sent up and down the
“ country, to take notice of the people’s discourse, and lay hold
“ of their words;” and when “ reporters of vain and idle stories
“ were admitted and credited” (Camden, Transf. 294, Orig. i. 354). In this wretched state of the nation, when suspicion sat scowling on the throne, when a Briareus-like impiety was stretching out from it her hundred arms of mischief, and all the people were shrinking up into themselves with terror and dismay at the sight; a general association in favour of Elizabeth, “ by
“ Leicester’s means,” was formed throughout the whole kingdom. “ The Queen of Scots—easily perceived, that her destruction was aimed at by the association.” She was now
“ weary of her long misery,” and yet “ fearing harder measures.” She therefore proposed, if her liberty should be granted her, to enter into the association herself. She would also form a defensive league, between Scotland and England; would stay in England awhile, as an hostage for the observance of the league; and, on being permitted to depart, would put in other hostages (Camden, Transf. 300, Orig. i. 360). And *then*, no doubt, was this letter offered, requested, and written.

light indeed, which the more masculine qualities of her soul have so long spread around her, has been much moderated of late. The shade too, which that glare had thrown over the other parts of her character, has been equally brightened up. And we are come to see her at present, in the light of truth and reality; with all her weaknesses opposed to her powers, and with all her wickednesses overtopping her glories.

* Her VANITY, particularly, has been delineated in lively colours by the pencil of Melvill. His account

* Before I enter on this paragraph, let me observe, that Warburton has applied these lines of Shakspeare to Queen Mary; as a kind of counterpart to the lines immediately following, concerning the Vestal Queen of the West.

Thou remember'st,
 Since once I sat upon a promontory,
 And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,
 Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
 That the rude sea grew civil at her song;
 And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,
 To hear the sea-maid's musick.

The mention of the "Dolphin," he thinks, alludes to the marriage of Mary with the Dolphin of France. The "dulcet and harmonious breath," he apprehends, refers "to her great abilities and learning, which rendered her the most accomplished princess of her age;" and of which "the French writers tell us, that, while she was in that court, she pronounced a Latin oration in the great hall of the Louvre, with so much grace and eloquence, as filled the whole court with admiration." By "the rude sea," he fancies, is meant Scotland, which rose in rebellion while she was in France, but was calmed into peace by her return. And the "stars," he presumes, denote the Earl of Westmoreland, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Duke of Norfolk;

count is not so familiarly known, as to render the appearance of it improper here. And it is necessary to the introduction of another. “ The Queen
 “ my mistress,” he says of Mary, “ had instructed
 “ me to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and
 “ cast in merry purposes ; lest otherwise I [it should
 “ certainly, I think, be *she*] should be wearied :
 “ she being well informed of that Queen’s natural
 “ temper.” This gives us an opening into the physical disposition of Elizabeth, which is not given us by any other writing ; and shews her not to have been so much a woman of business, as she is universally represented to be. “ Therefore, in declaring
 “ my observations of the customs of Dutchland,
 “ Poland, and Italy ; the buskins of the women was
 “ not forgot, and what countrey weed I thought best
 “ becoming gentlewomen. The Queen,” who was now *thirty-one*, “ said she had clothes of every

Norfolk ; who were ruined by their attachment to her. But all this, ingenious as it is, is too fanciful for sober history. One single observation will show it to be so. The play, in which these lines are found, appears too evidently from the adjoining compliment to Elizabeth, to have been written *during her reign*. We have even two *editions* of it in quarto, and both printed in the year 1600, at least *a couple of years before her death*. And Elizabeth, we may be sure from what immediately follows in my text here, would never have suffered such a high-wrought compliment to be paid to Mary, to be placed close to the panegyrick upon herself, and to exceed it considerably ; even as considerably, as the power of harmony, which could reduce the wild waves of the sea into peace, and force the stars headlong from their orbits, is above the mere grace of chastity, in the general estimate of the world, and in the special opinion of Elizabeth herself.

“ fort ;

“ fort; which *every day thereafter, so long as I was*
 “ *there, she changed.* One day she had the English
 “ weed, another the French, and another the Italian,
 “ and so forth. SHE ASKED ME, WHICH OF THEM
 “ BECAME HER BEST? I answered, in my judg-
 “ ment the Italian dress; which answer, I found,
 “ pleased her well, *for she delighted [afterwards] to*
 “ *shew her golden-coloured hair, wearing a caul and*
 “ *bonnet, as they do in Italy.* Her hair [indeed]
 “ was more *reddish* than *yellow*, curled in appearance
 “ naturally. SHE DESIRED TO KNOW OF ME,
 “ WHAT COLOUR OF HAIR WAS REPUTED BEST,
 “ and WHETHER MY QUEEN’S HAIR OR HERS WAS
 “ BEST; and WHICH OF THEM TWO WAS FAIREST.”

Elizabeth thus overshot two of her objects, by her
 eagerness in aiming at three in the same moment.
 Not waiting for an answer to her enquiry concern-
 ing hair in general, she added instantly another
 about Mary’s hair in particular; and she subjoined
 a third to both, before either was answered, con-
 cerning the beauty of Mary. So much was her
 vanity on the wing, in quest of its food; and so lively
 fluttering was it, from one expected scene of com-
 pliment to another! And she lost all reply from
 Melvill, to her two questions concerning hair; by
 his naturally replying only, to the concluding ques-
 tion about beauty. “ I answered, the fairness of
 “ them both was not their worst faults. But she
 “ WAS EARNEST with me to declare, WHICH OF THEM
 “ I JUDGED FAIREST. I said, she was the fairest
 “ Queen in England, and mine the fairest
 “ Queen in Scotland. YET she appeared EAR-
 “ NEST. I answered, they were both the fairest
 “ ladies

“ ladies in their countries ; that her Majesty was
 “ whiter, but my Queen was very lovely.” And
 the latter part of this answer indicates, that Eliza-
 beth had a much clearer complexion, than she is
 generally supposed to have had.

“ She INQUIRED, WHICH OF THEM WAS OF
 “ HIGHEST STATURE? I said, my Queen.
 “ THEN, saith she, SHE IS TOO HIGH, for I MYSELF
 “ AM NEITHER TOO HIGH OR TOO LOW. Then
 “ SHE ASKED, WHAT KIND OF EXERCISES SHE USED?
 “ I answered, that when I received my dispatch,
 “ the Queen was lately come from a Highland
 “ hunting* ; that when her more serious affairs
 “ permitted, she was taken up with reading of his-

* Mary's activity of body and spirit, was much delighted
 with hunting. This appears so early as 1559, when she “ riding
 “ on hunting” in France, “ and following *the hart of force*, was in
 “ her course cast of her gelding by a boughe of a tree, and with
 “ the suddaines of the fall was not hable to call for helpe. And
 “ albeit there dyd followe her diverse gentlemen and ladyes of
 “ her chamber ; yet three or four of them passed over her, before
 “ she was espied, and somme of their horses rode so nere her,
 “ as her hood was troden of. Assone as she was reised from
 “ the grounde, she spake, and said that she felt no hurt ; and her-
 “ self beganne to set her heare, and dresse up her head, and so re-
 “ turned to the court” (Forbes, i. 290). This equally appears
 also, so late as July 1586, in a letter of hers to Morgan. “ God,”
 she says, “ — hath not yett set me so lowe, but that I am able to
 “ handle my cros-bowe for killing of a deare, and to gallop after
 “ the houndes on horseback ; as this afternoone I entend to do
 “ within the limittes of this park, and cold otherwhere, if it were
 “ permitted” (Murdin, 534). Elizabeth herself was fond of
 more gentle riding, and loved to *amble* on a *sprightly* horse (Forbes,
 ii. 13).

“ tories ;

“ tories ; that sometimes she recreated herself
 “ upon the lute and virginals [a trunk-like kind of
 “ harpsichord]. She ASKED, IF SHE PLAYED WELL?
 “ I said, Reasonably for a Queen. *That same day,*
 “ after dinner, my Lord of Hunsdean *drew me up*
 “ to a quiet gallery, *that I might hear some musick ;*
 “ [and], but he said *he durst not avow it, where I*
 “ *might hear the Queen play upon the virginals.*
 “ After I had hearkened awhile, I took by the ta-
 “ pistry that hung before the door of the chamber ;
 “ and seeing her back was towards the door, I entered
 “ within the chamber, and stood a pretty space
 “ hearing her play excellently well. But she left
 “ off immediately, *as soon as she turned her about and*
 “ *saw me.* She appeared to be surprized to see me,
 “ and came forward *seeming to strike me with her hand ;*
 “ alledging she used not to play before men, but
 “ when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She
 “ asked, how I came there? I answered, as I was
 “ walking with my lord of Hunsdean, as we past
 “ by the chamber-door, I heard such melody as
 “ *ravished me ; whereby I was drawn in ere I knew*
 “ *how :* excusing my fault of homeliness [familia-
 “ rity], as being brought up in the court of France,
 “ where such freedom was allowed,” the French
 easiness of manners being then as eminent, as it
 has since been ; “ declaring myself willing to endure,
 “ what kind of punishment her Majesty should be
 “ pleased to inflict upon me, for so great an offence.
 “ Then she fate down low upon a cushion, and I
 “ upon my knees by her ; but with her own hand
 “ she gave me a cushion to lay under my knee,
 “ which

“ which at first I refused, but she compelled me to
 “ take it. She then called for my lady Strafford
 “ out of the next chamber, for the Queen was alone.
 “ She INQUIRED, WHETHER MY QUEEN OR SHE
 “ PLAYED BEST? In that, I found myself obliged
 “ to give her the praise.” And such a confession
 as this, at once shows us the superiority of Elizabeth
 to Mary in musical performances, and confirms, by
 its impartiality, all the notices concerning Elizabeth
 before.

“ —Here I took occasion to press earnestly my
 “ dispatch; she said, I was weary sooner of her
 “ company, then she was of mine. I told her Ma-
 “ jesty, that though I had no reason of being weary,
 “ I knew my mistress her affairs called me home.
 “ Yet I was *stayed two days longer*, till I might see
 “ her DANCE; as I was afterward informed.
 “ Which being done, she INQUIRED OF ME, WHE-
 “ THER SHE OR MY QUEEN DANCED BEST? I
 “ answered, the Queen danced not so high and
 “ disposedly, as she did.” And this, being another
 compliment paid Elizabeth in preference to Mary,
 again serves to confirm the general justness of this
 embassadour’s animadversions upon Elizabeth*.

But the affectation and the hypocrisy of vanity in
 Elizabeth, here come forward in a prominent man-
 ner to the laughing eye of criticism. Just in the
 same spirit, and nearly with the same colouring, has
 lady Shrewsbury sketched her out in the letter above.
 There we recognize the Elizabeth of Melvill im-
 mediately. There we find, that she, who so wildly

* Melvill, 49—51.

imagined herself more handsome and more graceful than even Mary herself, “ was as vain, and had as “ good an opinion of her beauty, as if she were some “ Goddess of the sky.” She also, who so grossly extorted flatteries from Melvill at one time, and so freely arrogated them to herself at another, “ took “ so great pleasure in flatteries beyond all reason ; “ that it had been said to her expressly, that there “ was no venturing at times to look full upon her, “ because her face shone like the sun ;” and that all the “ ladies of the court, were constrained to “ use this language” towards her. And, as Melvill was obviously stifling a violent laugh, all the time he was obliged to flatter her ; so Lady Shrewsbury and Lady Lenox, while the former was speaking to her, “ durst not look the one at the other, for fear “ of bursting out into a laugh, at the flams which “ she was putting upon the Queen *.”

But

* Thus, in 1562, the rebel and protestant Prince of Condé in France, to put her in good-humour after he had attempted to make a peace without her, requested she would “ *sende him a “ skarfe of her coullers, which he taketh to be black and white, “ to weare in this Gode’s quarrell and hers,—and to impute him as “ her souldiour, which he will never fayle to be during his lief.*” This he did “ very importunately” (Forbes, ii. 234.) “ Even “ when Elizabeth was an old woman,” says Mr. Hume (v. 287.) “ she allowed her courtiers to flatter her, with regard to “ *her excellent beauties.*” Birch, vol. ii. p. 442, 443. And we have a very lively instance of this, in another *state-paper* of the time. Sir Henry Unton, the Queen’s embassadour in France, writes home in a letter of February 1595-6, thus. On the French King’s shewing the picture of his mistress, he answered, he says : “ if without offence I might speake it, that I had “ the picture of *a far more excellent mistress ;* and yet did her

But let us pass from what was merely ridiculous in Elizabeth, to what was HARSH and VIOLENT in her private conduct. She was the petty tyrant of her palace. She was peculiarly prompt, with a more than masculine daringness, to lift her hand in injuries, and to beat and box her courtiers. We have already beheld her advancing up to Melvill, as “seeming to strike him with her hand.” This threatening posture of offence, indeed, was merely jocular in that instance. But it serves to shew the

“picture come far short of her perfection of beauty.—He beheld it with passion and admiration, saying that *I had reason*;—“protesting that *he had never seene the like*,” &c. &c. (Murdin, 718.) This ridiculous account was sent, in order to flatter Elizabeth. She was then in her SIXTY-THIRD year. Even five years afterward, the famous Edward Coke, acting as her Attorney General at the trial of Essex in 1601, said that he and his partisans “went rather into the city than to the court, in regard the *lustre* of the *Divine Majesty* glistered so brightly in the *Royal Majesty*, and did so dazzle their eyes, that they durst approach no nearer,” (Camden, Transf. 614, Orig. ii. 230.) Yet Elizabeth felt not the palpable imposition put upon her, by her own rage for flattery, and by the obsequiousness of those whom she compelled to gratify it. She swallowed all the praise that was offered by them, however ample it might be, as due to her charms, and as demanded by her sovereignty. Dr. Stuart therefore cries out against her, with an energy of style which is very striking; that, “even when palsied with age,” she was “vain of her haggard and cadaverous form,” and “fought to allure to her many lovers” (ii. 211.) And “the affront,” says Camden concerning Essex in 1601, “he did her in undervaluing her personal shape, inflamed her most of all: for he had given out (to mention nothing else,) that, being now an old woman, she was no less crooked and distorted in mind, than she was in body” (Transf. 605, Orig. ii. 219.) This also shews Elizabeth to have become “crooked and distorted” in body, at the latter end of her life.

mechanical

mechanical readinefs of her hand, to rife at a fenfe of impropriety, and to refent it by a blow upon the tranfgreffor. Thus, even fo late as 1598, and when ſhe was now SIXTY-FIVE, ſhe preſumed to box her favourite Eſſex. “ Quite forgetting himſelf,” ſays Camden, “ and neglecting his duty, he uncivily
 “ turned his back upon her, as it were in contempt;
 “ and gave her a ſcornfull look. SHE, not endur-
 “ ing ſuch behaviour, GAVE HIM A BOX ON THE
 “ EAR, and bade him get him gone and be hanged.
 “ He preſently laid his hand on his ſword; and,
 “ the Lord Admirall ſtepping between, he ſware a
 “ great oath, that he neither could nor would put
 “ up ſo great an affront and indignity, neither
 “ would he have taken it at King Henry the Eighth
 “ his hands; and, in a great paſſion, withdrew
 “ himſelf preſently from the court*.” This experienced practiſer in the ſchool of boxing therefore, who ventured to exerciſe the powers of her hand upon ſo cholerick a ſoldier, may well be expected to be found beating the gentlemen and ladies of her houſhold. She accordingly appears in the letter above, many years before, to have given Henry Killigrew, a gentleman ſent on occaſional embaſſies by her †, “ A BOX ON THE EAR, becauſe he had not
 “ brought back” a perſon, “ whom ſhe had ſent
 “ him to recall.” But ſhe appears treating Miſs Scudamore, with a larger ſhare of this brutiſhneſs;
 “ one of whoſe fingers” ſhe actually “ broke,”
 and then, with a meannefs equal to her miſchiev-

* Camden, Tranſ. 556, Orig. ii. 161.
 Tranſ. 82 and 195, and Orig. i. 103 and 238.

† Camden,

ousness, “made those of the court believe, that it
 “was broken by a chandelier falling down from
 “above.” She even mounted at another time,
 beyond all this sublimity of domestick savageness.
 She found a weapon, that would be more powerful
 than her naked hand. “She gave another lady, as
 “she was waiting upon her at table, A GREAT
 “BLOW WITH A KNIFE upon her hand.” And, as
 such a conduct was sure to make a peculiar impres-
 sion upon the ladies in Mary’s service, since they
 were equally retained in attendance upon a Queen,
 and were treated so very differently by *theirs*; so
 “because of these—points, and common—reports”
 of other incidents similar to them, Elizabeth was
 even “acted and represented by the women” of
 Mary’s household, “as in a comedy” of the Feroci-
 ous Mistress, sportively exhibited “among them-
 “selves*.”

But we must now come, to what is the great
 object of this chapter. We must proceed to the
 IMMODESTY of Elizabeth. And the vain, the vio-
 lent Queen must appear in all the loose garb of a
 wanton woman. Her vanity and her violence ap-
 pear still conspicuous even in her very wantonness.

† Elizabeth, says Lady Shrewsbury, “undoubt-
 “edly

* Elizabeth’s “passionate temper,” says Mr. Hume, v. 288,
 “may also be proved from *many* lively instances; and it was *not*
 “unusual with her, to beat her maids of honour.” See *the Sydney*
papers, vol. ii. p. 38.

† It has been insinuated by both Mr. Hume (v. 287) and Dr.
 Stuart (ii. 211), that Haynes, 99, affords but too good reasons
 for suspecting the chastity of Elizabeth, *some years before she as-*
cended

“ *edly was not as other women are*; and for this
 “ reason it was folly in all those, who favoured her
 “ marriage with Monsieur the Duke of Anjou, be-
 “ cause *it could never be consummated.*” The peo-
 ple, says Camden under 1566, when they were ear-
 nest for Elizabeth’s marriage, “ cursed Huic the
 “ Queen’s physician, as a diffwader of her marriage,

ended the throne, and when she was only 17 or 18 years of age. However, I must here vindicate her. The main stress of the evidence appealed to against her, lies in this. “ She,” lady Elizabeth’s woman, “ faith; at Chelsey, incontinent after he,” Lord Admiral Seymour, “ was married to the Queene,” relict of Henry the viiith, “ he wold come many mornyngs into the said
 “ lady Elizabeth’s chamber,” which was in his own house at Chelsea (p. 61), “ *before she were redy, and sometye before she*
 “ *did rise.* And, if she were up, he wold bid hir good morrow,
 “ and ax how she did, and *strike her upon the bak or on the but-*
 “ *tocks* famylearly, and so go forth through [to] his lodgings;
 “ and sometye go through to the maydens, and play with them,
 “ and so go forth: and, if she were in hir bed, he *wold put open*
 “ *the curteyns*, and bid hir good morrow, and *make as though he*
 “ *wold come at hir*; and she wold go further in the bed, so that
 “ he could not come at hir. And one mornynge *he strove to have*
 “ *kissed hir in hir bed*: and this examine was there, and bad
 “ him go away for shame.” This surely can justify no suspi-
 cion of Elizabeth. Her woman was plainly with her all these
 times, or she could not have deposed to all these facts. At one
 other time, when Elizabeth heard the admiral coming towards
 her bedroom, she ran out of bed, hurried into the inner room
 where her attendants slept, and stayed there till he was gone.
 And we know too much of the free conversation of gentlemen to
 ladies then, as exhibited by time’s best copyist, Shakespeare; and
 see too much of their free manners in that age, as transmitted
 down to the present, at a distance from London, and in the mid-
 dle orders of life; to suppose the women unchaste, merely because
 the men were romping.

“for I know not what womanish impotency ‡.”
 “The perils” also, as he adds under 1581, “by
 “conception and child-bearing, objected” to Elizabeth
 “by the physicians and her gentlewomen
 “for some private reasons, did many times run in
 “her mind, and very much deter her from thoughts
 “of marrying §.” And Elizabeth had some ob-
 structions from nature, which disabled her for the
 offices of a wife, precluded her from the plea-
 sures of a prostitute, and, contending with her strong
 desires, raised such a ferment and fire within her, as
 she was ever endeavouring, and never able, to ex-
 tinguish.

Thus she had “one” man, “to whom” (lady
 Shrewsbury says) “Elizabeth had made a promise
 “of marriage, before a lady of her bedchamber;”
 and who “had lain down *infinite times* with her,
 “with all the freedom and familiarity that can be
 “used betwixt a husband and wife.” This person
 is afterwards called “one of this realm.” It is
 LEICESTER, no doubt; whose name was studiously
 suppressed by the Countess, because Leicester had
 been intriguing to draw her off from her warm at-
 tachment to Mary, for some infamous purposes

‡ Camden, Transf. 83, Orig. i. 104, “ob nescio quam muli-
 ebrem, impotentiam.”

§ Camden, Transf. 269, Orig. i. 324, “pericula ex concep-
 tione et puerperio, a medicis et mulierculis ex abditis causis
 “objecta, quæ sæpè animo obversabantur, admodum deterrue-
 runt.” This shews the bodily infirmity of Elizabeth, to be
 very different from what it is represented by foreign writers.
 Our own have almost unanimously neglected to notice it.—

undoubt-

undoubtedly; by holding up to the eye of her ambition an object more alluring, than any which Mary could present; and making her hope for royalty itself, in her grand-daughter Arabella Stuart. “Him,” says Melvill before, “I knew at that time Elizabeth could not want” or do without. His whole court-life indeed was spent, in claiming and challenging (as it were) the marriage of Elizabeth; for which he is asserted by the present tradition at Cumnor near Oxford, to have dreadfully qualified himself at first, by throwing his wife down a pair of stairs there, and breaking her neck with the fall *. We see him expecting the marriage in 1564. We see him still expecting it in 1579. Yet, under the influence of some temporary despair undoubtedly, we find him marrying the widowed countess of Essex in the interval. But he had still so much hope remaining in his despair, that he carefully kept his marriage a secret to Elizabeth; and his hope so overpowered his despair soon, that he still prosecuted his matrimonial views upon her. He meant probably to make way for them again, at the critical moment; by another murder of his wife. Nor did he lose the peculiar favour of the Queen, even to his death. In 1564, as Camden informs us, Queen Mary, to whom Elizabeth had recommended a marriage with him, “suspected that she was deceitfully dealt withall, and that

* See also Carte, iii. 416, who also speaks of this tradition, and with some more particularity; as during one part of his life, I think, he resided in the immediate neighbourhood of Cumnor. And see Aubrey’s Berkshire, i. 149, still more particularly.

“ Queen Elizabeth propounded this marriage to no
 “ other purpose, but to chuse for herself the best of
 “ all the suitors” to Mary ; “ or else *to marry with*
 “ *Leicester the more excusably*, if she, being an abso-
 “ lute Queen, did first consent to the marriage of
 “ Leicester — : and Leicester himself, *in hopes of*
 “ *enjoying Queen Elizabeth*, secretly warned Bedford
 “ by private letters, that he should not be eager in
 “ the matter *.” In 1579, when a foreign appli-
 cation for marriage was received very favourably
 by Elizabeth, “ Leicester chafed,” says Camden,
 though he had been actually married some time to
 the Countess of Essex, “ being now quite frustrate
 “ of his *long hoped-for marriage*” with Elizabeth †.
 And at his death in 1588, which “ the Queen took
 “ much to heart,” as Camden adds ; “ by reason
 “ of a certain conjunction and affinity of their
 “ minds, and that haply through a hidden conspi-
 “ racy and consent of their stars, which the Greek
 “ astrologers term *synastria*, HE WAS MOST DEAR”
 to her ‖. Indeed “ he was” then “ master of the
 “ horse, chosen into the orders of St. George and
 “ St. Michael, of the Queen’s privy council, lord
 “ steward of her household, chancellor of the uni-
 “ versity of Oxford, justicer of the forests on this

* Trans. 75, Orig. i. 94.

† Trans. 227, Orig. i. 276.

For this marriage to lady Essex, see Trans. 217—218, and 232,
 Orig. i. 264—265, and 282.

‖ This, from no design in the virtuous author, but from the popular credulity in astrologi-
 gal impertinences, is reducible to that loose strain of dramatick
 morality, which says that,

——— When weak women go astray,
 Their stars are more in fault than they.

“ fide

“ fide the river of Trent, lieutenant and captain-
 “ general of the English forces in the low-coun-
 “ tries, governour and captain-general of the united
 “ provinces in the Netherlands, and this year ge-
 “ neral of the English army against the Spaniards.
 “ And now, in the very period of his life [he]
 “ began to entertain new hope of honour and
 “ power, by being put into the high authority of
 “ *Lieutenancy under the Queen in the government of*
 “ *England and Ireland*; which indeed he had ob-
 “ tained, *the letters patents being drawn, had not,*”
 &c §.

But Leicester was not the sole possessor of Eli-
 zabeth. He was obliged to share her favours with
 others. At the very time of the letter above, he
 had “Haton” for his colleague. This was SIR
 CHRISTOPHER HATTON, of whom Camden speaks
 thus. “Being young,” he says, “and of *a comely*
 “ *talness of body and amiable countenance, he got into*
 “ *such favour with the Queen*; that she took him into
 “ her band of 50 gentlemen pensioners, and after-
 “ wards, for his modest sweetness of conditions,
 “ into the number of the gentlemen of her privy
 “ chamber; made him captain of her guard, vice-
 “ chamberlain, and one of her privy council; and
 “ lastly made him lord chancellor.” He, as
 Camden equally remarks in another place and under
 1587, “*a man in great favour with the Queen, of a*
 “ courtier was made Lord Chancellor; which the
 “ great lawyers of England took very great distaste

§ Transf. 419, Orig. i. 496.

“ at

“ at — :” while, in reality, “ Hatton was advanced
 “ to the dignity, by the cunning court-arts of some,”
 Leicester probably; “ that *by his absence from court,*
 “ and the troublesome discharge of so great a place,
 “ which they thought him not to be able to undergo,
 “ *his favour with the Queen might flag and grow less*.*”
 But lady Shrewsbury shews us plainly *the secret rea-*
son, that impelled Elizabeth in all his promotions,
 that fixed him “ in such great favour with the
 “ Queen,” and raised such an envy in some very
 powerful courtier against him, as oddly conspired
 with the favour, “ of a courtier” to make him a
 “ chancellor.” “ His comely talness of body,”
 and his “ amiable countenance,” won so much
 upon the lewd heart of his mistress; that she “ took
 “ him into the band of her—gentlemen pension-
 “ ers” for *particular* services, and kept him *always*
 as one “ of the gentlemen of her *privy* chamber.”
 Indeed he seems for a time at least, to have out-
 rivalled Leicester himself, and to have been the
captain of her band, and the *first* of her gentlemen.
 Elizabeth was even so fond of him, that she “ ran
 “ him down by violence;” at one time “ making the
 “ love which she bore him appear so publick, that
 “ he” himself, “ from his modest sweetness of con-
 “ ditions” undoubtedly, “ was constrained to retire
 “ from her.” Yet at another time he was so
 proud of her favour, and so happy in her generosity,
 that he ornamented his fine person with a set of but-
 tons upon his clothes, all of solid gold. With these
 he appeared at court. Elizabeth saw her own pro-

* Orig. ii. 43 and i. 475, Transf. 458, and 401.

fusion probably, in his extravagance. She was angry with him. She shewed her anger, in her usual effusions of reproachful language. He departed in wrath. Elizabeth instantly repented, of what she had done. Her anger melted away in her fondness. And she betrayed her weakness very strikingly, in her condescension at first, and in her violence afterwards. She sent Killigrew after him, to fetch him back. But he knew his consequence too well, to return. Killigrew came back without him. And she was so unhinged by the shock of this incident, that she actually gave Killigrew a box on the ear, for the involuntary offence. Such a violently doting old maid of FORTY-FIVE, was Elizabeth then! Yet she was still more so, soon afterwards. Hatton appears to have withdrawn himself from court, for a period. But at last he thought proper to return. And Elizabeth evidenced the sharpness of her grief for his absence, by the greatness of her liberality on his return. She was so overjoyed at the news, that she gave Sir Thomas Gorge, who brought it to her, *three hundred pounds a year in penny-rents*. So readily could she break through all her habits of frugality, *when* an amour was on foot! So profuse and prodigal could she *then* be! Indeed, says lady Shrewsbury, “she was “profuse to *all* such persons” as were her gallants; “and” even to “those who meddled in such practices,” by carrying messages and bringing news concerning them. But “to all others she was ungrateful and niggardly.” And “there were but “three or four persons in her realm,” of a different charac-

character; "to whom she had ever been bountiful," so late as the year 1584*.

But Elizabeth "would not be content with " Master Hatton, and one other of this realm." Two gallants were not sufficient for such a lady. She had a third. This was SIR WALTER RALEIGH. Lady Shrewsbury, indeed, omits him. Yet she hints at more than she specifies; in declaring, that Elizabeth "would not ever give up the liberty of " bespeaking love, and of having her pleasure *continually* with *new* lovers;" and in noticing her profuseness "to *all* such persons." But Sir Walter plainly confesses himself a paramour to her, in this high-flown letter of love concerning her. "My " heart was never broken," he says, "till this day, " that I hear the Queen goes away *so far off*; " whom I have followed *so many years*, with *so great* " love and desire, in *so many journeys*, and am now left " behind her *in a dark prison* all alone." This letter is not dated in itself, yet is dated by the publisher in "July 1592." But he is clearly mistaken. The circumstance of the *prison*, shows him to be so. It should be dated in 1594. Then, as Camden assures us, "Sir Walter Raleigh, captain of the

* "The Queen first took notice of him," Hatton, "*for the comeliness of his person, and his graceful dancing at a mask at court.*—So exact was Queen Elizabeth, that she called upon him for an old debt, though it broke his heart; *so loving*, that she *carried him a cordial-broath with her own hand*, though it could not revive him" (English Baronettage, ii. 183 and 185, edit. 1741). This conduct in Elizabeth then, is very much like her behaviour before, in consequence of the gold buttons,

"Queen's

“ Queen’s guard, *having deflowered one of the Queen’s*
 “ *maids of honour* (whom he after took to wife),
 “ and being therefore thrown out of favour, and kept
 “ *several months in prison*, but now at length set at
 “ liberty, though banished the court;—undertook a
 “ voyage to Guiana,—and set sail on the 6th of
 “ February” 1594-5 *. From this prison then,
 and in that year, on some removal of the court from
 London, Raleigh adds in all that extravagance of
 adulation; which lady Shrewsbury tells us was
 obliged to be used to Elizabeth, and which is even
 heightened in him, by his late relation as a paramour
 to her. “ While she was nire [nigher] at hand,”
 he says, “ that I might *hear of her once in two or*
 “ *three dayes*; my sorrows were the less: but, even
 “ now, my heart is cast into the depth of all misery.
 “ I, that was wont to behold her *riding like Alex-*
 “ *ander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the*
 “ *gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure*
 “ *cheeks, like a nymph*; sometime sitting in the shade
 “ *like a goddess*, sometime singing like an angel, some-
 “ time playing like Orpheus:” when this Nymph,
 this Angel, this Goddess, this Venus, and this
 Diana, was now about—SIXTY-ONE years of age.
 “ Behold the sorrow of this world! *Once amiss* hath
 “ *bereaved me of all*.—All those times past, the loves,
 “ the *sythes* [sighs], the sorrows, the desires, can they
 “ not way [weigh] down *one frail misfortune*?
 “ Cannot *one dropp of gall* be hidden in so great
 “ *heaps of sweetness*?—She is gone, in whom I

* Orig. ii. 93—94, Transf. 499—450.

“ trusted;

“ trusted; and of me hath not one thought of
 “ mercy, nor any respect of *that that was* *.” So
 very *obdurate* was Elizabeth to Raleigh, for “ de-
 “ flouring one of her maids of honour!” So
sternly severe was this Diana of Britain, against the
 infirmities of the flesh,—in *her own* gallants towards
others! That he should ever *stray* from his *Royal*
 Goddess, and take up with one of the “ Deæ mi-
 “ norum gentium” about her footstool; might well
 provoke the humours of this Juno and Venus in
 one, this imperious Goddess of old age and wrin-
 kles. And Raleigh is *expressly* mentioned in ano-
 ther letter of the times, no less than *eight* years an-
 tecedent to this, and in the life-time of Leicester
 and Hatton, as a well-known gallant of Elizabeth’s.
 “ Eyther RAWLEY,” says Morgan, that active and
 knowing agent of Mary’s, on March 31st, 1586,
 “ the *mignon* [minion] of *her of England*, is *wearye*
 “ of *her*, or else *she is wearye of him*.” Raleigh,
 therefore, had been *minion* to her many years, at this
 period; and had been long “ tasting her sweet
 “ body,” in a friendly partnership with Hatton
 and Leicester. “ For I here she hath *now* enter-
 “ tained one BLONT, brother of the Lord Mont-
 “ joye; being a yonge gentleman, *whose grandmo-*
 “ *ther she may be for her age and his* †.”

But Morgan knew not Elizabeth sufficiently;
 when he supposed she must have discarded Raleigh,
 because he heard she had taken in Blount. She
 had not even that virtue of viciousness itself, to be

* Murdin, 657.

† Ibid. 501.

confined to one person in her licentious regards. She took in a new paramour. Yet she did not cast off the old. She continued both in her service. She thus kept a kind of male seraglio, that was continually receiving additions, and seldom suffered any diminutions. And she became as great a latitudinarian in her practises of lewdness, as she was in her principles of dishonour*.

In 1578, according to Camden, “came SIMIER” to Elizabeth “from the Duke of Anjou,” to make a marriage between them; “a *choice courtier*, a man “thoroughly versed in *love fancies*, *pleasant conceits*, “and *court-dalliances*; accompanied with many of “the nobility of France: whom the Queen entertained at Richmond so kindly, that *Leicester* “*chafed*, being now quite frustrate of his long “hoped-for marriage †.” But, as Camden adds under the next year, “Simier on the other side “*left no means un-assayed*, to remove Leicester out “*of his place and favour with the Queen*; revealing “to her *his marriage with Essex his widow*; whereat “the Queen grew into such a *chafe*, that she commanded Leicester not to stir out of the castle of “Greenwich, and intended to have committed him

* The Blounts particularly seem to have had a large share in the Queen’s favours. We have here a *brother* to Lord Montjoy mentioned. Mr. Hume, v. 287, mentions Lord Montjoy himself. And Camden says of Sir Christopher Blunt, that one “Waite— “had been formerly sent into Holland by *Leicester*, who was “*jealous* of Blunt, to kill him” (Transf. 610, Orig. ii. 225). Orig. i. 276, Transf. 227.

† Orig. i.

“ to the Tower of London.” This is very similar, to her conduct towards Raleigh before. And the earl of Oxford, as we see in Mary’s letter, “ durst
 “ not re-accord with his wife, for fear of losing the
 “ favour which he hoped to receive, by making
 “ love to Elizabeth.” Simier, as Camden also tells us, “ ceased not *amorously* to wooe Queen Elizabeth, in Anjou’s behalf; and although she
 “ stiffly excused herself a long time, yet *he brought*
 “ *her to that pass*, that Leicester (who from his
 “ heart was against the marriage) and others,” probably Hatton, Raleigh, Oxford, &c. “ spread
 “ rumours abroad, that by *love-potions* and *unlawfull*
 “ *arts* he *had insinuated into the Queen’s affection*, and
 “ *induced her to the love of Anjou**.” Elizabeth, therefore, was so openly fond of him, that “ Leicester and others” were impelled to think,

That with some mixtures powerful o’er the blood,
 Or with some dram conjur’d to this effect,
 He wrought upon her.

But lady Shrewsbury enables us to declare, in concurrence with the hint of *amorousness* from Camden before ;

What drugs, what charms,
 What conjuration, and what mighty magick,
 He won her with.

“ For the honour of the country,” she says, “ she
 “ was most grieved, that Elizabeth not only *had*
 “ *pawned her honour* with a stranger of the name

* Orig. i. 282, Transf. 232—233.

“ of Simier, going to find him by night in the chamber
 “ of a lady;—where Elizabeth kissed him, and used
 “ divers dishonest familiarities with him; but also re-
 “ vealed the secrets of the realm to him, betraying to
 “ him her own counsellors.”

This only is the witchcraft he had us'd.

And this witchcraft was very powerful, in its influence upon Elizabeth. She not merely “ pawned her honour,” which indeed she had pawned so often to these brokers in impurity before, that it was hardly worth the redeeming now; but she “ revealed the secrets of the realm to him,” and the cold-blooded politician dissolved away in the warm fires of the licentious lover.

Simier was thus anticipating his master the duke, in the possession of Elizabeth's person. In 1581, however, the duke came to London himself, to supersede Simier's too “ amorous” solicitations for him, and to urge his addresses in his own person. Yet he urged them—exactly in Simier's manner. It was the only manner probably, for winning Elizabeth. When he came to her, says Camden, “ he
 “ was received with as great respect, as he could
 “ hope for; and no demonstration could there be
 “ given of honour and affection, which she did not
 “ shew him to the full. Infomuch as in the month
 “ of November, as soon as she had with great pomp
 “ celebrated her coronation-day; *the force of modest*
 “ *love, in the midst of amorous discourse,* carried her
 “ so far, that she drew off a ring from her finger,

“ and *put it upon the Duke of Anjou's* :” he being then TWENTY-SIX, and she FORTY-EIGHT.—“ The
“ standers-by took it, that *the marriage was now*
“ *contracted by promise* : amongst whom Aldegond,
“ governour of the city of Antwerp, dispatched letters presently away into the Netherlands” [“ the
“ Duke” being “ now designed Governour of the
“ Netherlands by the Estates”], “ to signifie as
“ much ; and Antwerp testified her publick joy
“ thereat, by bonfires and peals of ordnance. At
“ home, the courtiers minds were diversly affected :
“ some leaped for joy, some were seized with
“ admiration, and others were dejected with sorrow. Leicester,” her prime gallant, “ who had
“ lately plotted and contrived to cross the marriage ;
“ Hatton, vice-chamberlain,” another gallant of hers ; “ and Walsingham,” a man, as we have
seen before, who trafficked in murder ; “ *stormed at*
“ *it*, as if the Queen, the realm, and *religion* were
“ now quite undone. The Queen’s gentlewomen,
“ with whom she used to be familiar, lamented
“ and bewailed, and did so terrifie and vex her
“ mind ; that she spent the night in doubts and
“ cares without sleep, amongst those weeping and
“ wailing females. The next day she sent for the
“ Duke of Anjou ; and they two, all by-standers
“ being removed, had a long discourse together.
“ He at length withdrew himself to his chamber ;
“ and, *throwing the ring from him*, a while after
“ took it again ; *taxing the lightness of women*, and
“ *the inconstancy of islanders*, with two or three biting
“ and

“ *and smart scoffs* *.” This very day of the espousal, and while the spirits of Anjou and Elizabeth were yet elated by it; *then* was it, no doubt, as Lady Shrewsbury tells us in great coincidence with Camden here, that Anjou went “ to find Elizabeth by night *at the door of her bed-chamber,* “ where Elizabeth met him *with only her shift and* “ *bedgown on*; and that afterwards *she suffered him* “ *to enter*; and that *he stayed with her nearly three* “ *hours.*” He then retired, her lamenting gentlewomen came about her, and the Queen passed the rest of the night “ in doubts and cares without “ sleep, amidst those weeping and wailing females.” But most probably she had a more secret cause of grief than they, and indeed

Had that within which passed show.

She was grieving probably at her disappointment, in her young and lusty lover, whom she had just dismissed from her bed-room. The French paramour was no more available, than the English had been before; or the Duke than Simier. The virgin zone was not unloosed still. The “ woman- “ ish impotency” was still un-removed. And, for *this* reason probably, did she remain sleepless all the night, did she send for Anjou in the morning, and did she then break off the contracted marriage with him. In cases of a complicated nature,

* Orig. i. 323, Transf. 267—268. See also Orig. i. 229, Transf. 188, for Anjou’s age. He left England in the beginning of 1582, and died in 1584, after Mary had been taken from Lord Shrewsbury (Orig. i. 329 and 365, Transf. 373 and 304).—

there is generally some secret principle, that actuates and directs the whole; while an ostensible principle is held up, to conceal and cover the other. *This* therefore is known to all, while *that* is perceived only by few. *This* wildly forms the historical faith of the multitude, who are unable to look into characters, to combine circumstances together, and to judge from the result of all; while *that* collects the scattered rays of truth by a kind of critical catop-trick, sees them successively combining into one regular mass of light, and feels them finally co-operating to produce one full blaze of conviction. And Lady Shrewsbury accordingly declares in express terms, that it was “folly in all those who
 “favoured Elizabeth’s marriage with Monsieur the
 “Duke of Anjou, BECAUSE IT COULD NEVER BE
 “CONSUMMATED *.”

Such an immodest, licentious, and dissolute woman was Elizabeth! Such was the Queen, that

* Mr. Hume observes concerning this part of Elizabeth’s character, that “her *extreme fondness* for Leicester, Hatton, and
 “*Effex*, not to mention *Mountjoy* and *others*,—render her chastity
 “very suspicious” (v. 287), at my Lord’s [*Effex*’s] coming to
 “court” from his French expedition, for his conduct in which Elizabeth had censured and recalled him, “whereas he expected
 “nothing but her Majesty’s heavy displeasure; he found it
 “cleane contrary: for she used him with that grace and favour,
 “that he stayed a week with her, *passing the time in jollity and*
 “*feasting*; and *then with tears in her eyes she shewed her affection*
 “*to him*, and, for the repaire of his honour, gave him leave to
 “returne to his charge againe” (Memoirs of Cary Earl of Monmouth, 39—40). And Dr. Stuart tells us more generally and more justly, that, “even when palsied with age, she was
 “burning with unquenchable desires” (ii. 211).

wished

wished to have it engraven upon her tomb, “ Here
 “ lieth Elizabeth, which reigned a virgin, and died
 “ a virgin !” Such also was the Queen, who some
 years afterwards declared, that she was “ deter-
 “ mined to end her life in virginity ;” whom the
 publick voice hailed at the time, as “ the fair
 “ vestal throned by the West,” and “ the im-
 “ perial votress” of chastity ; whom the consenting
 testimonies of two ages, have pronounced the
 Maiden Queen of Protestantism ; and who had the
 hypocritical audacity, to censure a Mary for be-
 ing—what *she was herself*, what Mary was *not*, and
 what she herself was *in all the foulest extremes of the*
character. And, at the close, I cannot but observe
 with equal indignation and sorrow, That Elizabeth
 seems to have been in all her capacities of wicked-
 ness, a woman exceedingly wicked ; to have united
 equally the sensual and the malignant corruptions
 of mankind, in her own person ; to have had them
 both, in a very violent degree ; to have superadded
 the highest degree of hypocrisy, to both ; and so to
 have been a very prodigy of flagitiousness, from
 all.

E R R A T A.

P. 45, Note.

HAVING here noticed from Mademoiselle de Keralio, that the present Rector of the Scotch College at Paris, Abbé Gordon, “promises the publick a new history of Mary,” from the papers reprinted in his college; and having presumed to advise the Abbé, “to throw his new lights into the form of an historical disquisition,” rather “than of a history itself;” I think it requisite to myself and to the publick, to correct the supposition on which the advice was founded, and into which I was led by that very respectable lady of France. I have since had the honour, of corresponding with the Abbé. From his letters I find, that his intended work is *not* to dwell at all upon the *controverted* parts of Mary’s history. “All the papers we “have relating to Mary,” he says in one of his letters to me, “are mostly *posterior* to her confinement, and treat of the means “of *restoring* her to her power, in whole or in part. Such “papers, as *precede* her imprisonment in England, do her honour as a woman and a princess; but throw no *new* light on “the matter so much debated, whether she was innocent or “guilty of her husband’s murder. I think, you have in the “strictest sense demonstrated her innocence; and I rejoice to “see it demonstrated by an Englishman and a Protestant “Clergyman.”

- Page 56. line 14, for “says,” read “say.”
 78. note, to “Knox,” add “392.”
 83. note, l. 6, for “Michal’s,” read “Michael’s.”
 — —, l. 15, for “conferences,” read “conference.”
 85. note †, l. 7, for “Cox,” read “Con.”
 224. Remark (6) l. 4, these two sentences should have been annexed to Remark (5).
 238. l. 25, after “did,” insert “not.”
 251. l. 9 and 23, for “melancholis,” read “melancholie.”
 258. l. 24, for “Kensdon,” read “Hunfdon.”
 358. l. 15, thus “Bothwel,” marrying, &c.
 404. l. 21, “mistress, by their next *depeche* ;” so is Mary.
 409. l. 10, for “says,” read “say.”

Page 410. note * last line, for “*escarmonche*,” read “*escarmouche*.”

412. l. 16, for “*præliberet*,” read “*præbiberet*.”

— l. 18, for “*crux*,” read “*ceux*.”

431. l. 17, for “*paints*,” read “*points*.”

432. l. 19, thus “*be special for—appointit*,” &c.”

459. l. 13 and 14, for “*month*,” read “*mouth*.”

P. 488, note, l. 7, thus—which she considered as the same with a solemn appeal to God. Elizabeth’s mode of swearing was very different. She was so much in the habit of audacious profaneness, that she had what was considered as her “*wonted oath*.” And she was very frequently swearing, by GOD’S DEATH (Naunton’s *Fragmenta Regalia*, Phenix, i. 184).

P. 494, to the end of the paragraph let this note be subjoined *.

* Sir Robert Naunton says accordingly of Elizabeth, that “*she was of a personage tall, of hair and complexion fair, and therewith well-favoured*” (Phenix, i. 183).

P. 505, to note § add thus.

Leicester, says Sir Robert Naunton, “*was a very goodly person, and singular well-featured, and all his youth well-favoured, and of a sweet aspect*,”—for she, the Queen, with some exceptions “*always took personage in the way of her election*” (192—193).

P. 508, to note add thus.

“*Hatton came into court,—Sir John Perrot was wont to say, by the galliard; for he came thither as a private gentleman of the inns of court, in a mask; and for his activity and person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into her favour*” (Naunton, 205).

Sir Robert also, who in general knows only as much of the interior characters of the Queen and her courtiers, as a gentleman-usher or a page of the backstairs usually does; confirms the hint here given, of Elizabeth’s niggardliness to all but her gallants, &c. “*We have not*,” says he, “*many precedents of her liberality, or of any large donatives to particular men; my Lord of Essex book of parkes only excepted, which was a princely gift, and some few more of a lesser size to my Lord of LEICESTER; HATTON, and others*” (p. 185).

P. 510, to note † add this.

† Ibid. 501. “*Sir W. Rawleigh—had, in the outward man, a good presence, in a handsome and well-compacted person*” (Naunton, 209).

P. 511, l. 8—9, should run thus.

Her principles of dishonour.

As to Blount, we have a very particular account of him and of Elizabeth, from the hands of Sir Robert Naunton. In his

pleasing gallery of historical pictures, he has hung up the Queen with her paramours on each side of her, without any seeming intention of marking them as her paramours, and yet really doing so. Blount, he says, “ had a pretty strange kind of admission into court; which I have heard from a discreet man of his own, and much more of the secrets of those times. He was then much about twenty years of age;” a particular, that coincides exactly with Morgan’s intimation before, concerning his extreme youthfulness, when Elizabeth fixed her kind regards upon him. He was “ of a brown hair, a sweet face, a most neat composure, and tall in his person. The Queen was then at Whitehall, and at dinner; whither he came to see the fashion of the court. The Queen *had soon found him out*; and, with a kind of *affected* frown, asked the Lady Carver what he was. She answered, she knew him not. Infomuch as *an inquiry was made from one to another*, who he might be; till at length it was told the Queen, he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. This inquisition, with the eye of majesty fixed upon him (as she was wont to do, and to daunt men she knew not), stirred the blood of this young gentleman; infomuch as his colour came and went: which the Queen observing, called him unto her, and gave him her hand to kiss; encouraging him with gracious words and new looks. And, so diverting her speech to the Lords and Ladies, she said, That she *no sooner observed him*, but that *she knew there was in him some noble blood*; with some other expressions of pity towards his house. And then, *again demanding his name*, she said, Fail you not to come to the court, and I will bethink myself how to do you good.” This presents us with a significant picture of Elizabeth’s mind. The bold eye of the discontented Old Maid, was continually wandering through her court, in quest of new lovers. Her taste however was good. She always pitched upon the handsome. And her eye generally rested upon the blooming cheek of youth. She was thus struck immediately, with the “ brown air,” the “ sweet face,” the “ most neat composure,” and the “ tall person,” of this young man of twenty. She singled him out from the croud of casual spectators. Her old blood began to tingle, at the sight of him. She put on “ an affected frown,” to disguise her sudden love. Yet her spirits were in such a strong alarm of curiosity, that those could not subside till this was gratified. An enquiry was hastily circulated round the room, after the name and family of the stranger at the door, who had made such an impression upon the too yielding heart of the Queen. Her licentious eye, still “ feeding on his damask cheek,” all the while pointed out the object. She *knew* by the instinctive flutters of her heart, that there

there was noble blood in his veins. He was therefore not unworthy to be admitted to her favours. She called the blushing and astonished youth up to her. He came, all unconscious of his powers, and wrapped up perhaps in his virgin innocence. She changed her "affected frown" into a heart-felt smile. She gave him her hand to kiss. She expressed a compassion for the distressed condition of his house. She again enquired after his name. She bad him not to fail in future attendance at court. And she promised to prefer him.

"This," says Sir Robert, "was his inlet, and the beginnings of his grace." In such a manner was this innocent fly drawn into the snares of that ever-watchful spider. But he soon ceased to be innocent. She knighted him. And he did her *knight's service*. "My Lord Mountjoy," as Sir Robert incidentally informs us under a different character, "who was another *child of her favour*, being *newly come to court*, and then but *Sir Charles Blunt*,—had the good fortune one day to run very well a tilt; and the Queen therewith was so well pleased, that she sent him, in token of her favour, a *Queen at chess*, of gold richly enameled: which his servants had the next day fastened on his arm, with a crimson ribband; which my Lord of Essex, as he passed through the privy chamber, espying, with his cloke cast under his arm, the better to command it to the view; inquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed. Sir Fulk Greville told him, that it was the Queen's favour, which the day before, and after the tilting, she had sent him. Whereat my Lord of Essex," as being another favourite of hers in the same way, and at the same time, "in a kind of *emulation*, and as though he would have *limited her favour*, said, Now I perceive every fool must have a favour." Thus was the knighted youth parading about, and glorying in the disgraceful favours of his lewd mistress; a devoted victim, shaking his garlands, and dressed out for the altar. He heard however of the scoff; and had the presumption in his new interest with Elizabeth, to challenge her prior gallant. "They met near Maribone-Park." Essex was wounded and disarmed. Hearing of the fact, the Queen "swore by God's Death, it was fit some one or other should take him down, and teach him better manners; otherwise there would be no rule with him." And this was "the initiation of my Lord's friendship" with Blunt, "WHICH THE QUEEN HERSELF DID THEN CONJURE."

"His brother dyed," Sir Robert goes on to tell us, "—shortly after his admission to the court.—There was in him an inclination to arms, with a humour of travelling and gadding abroad; which had not some wise men about him
"laboured

“ laboured to remove, and *the Queen herself laid in her com-*
 “ *mands*, he would (out of his natural propension) have marred
 “ his own market.—For he had a company in the Low Coun-
 “ tries, from whence he came over with *a noble acceptance of the*
 “ *Queen*, but somewhat restless; and in honourable thought he
 “ exposed himself again and again, and would press the Queen
 “ with the pretences of visiting his company *so often*, that at
 “ *length* he had *a flat denial*. Yet he stole over with Sir John
 “ Norris into the action of Britany;—till *at last* the Queen
 “ BEGAN TO TAKE HIS DECESSIONS FOR CONTEMPTS, and
 “ CONFINED HIS RESIDENCE to the COURT and HER OWN
 “ PRESENCE.” *

P. 511, note †, thus.

† Orig. i. 276, Transf. 227.

P. 516, note, l. 4, thus, “ very suspicious,” (v. 287.)
 At my, &c.

* Phenix, i. 215, 211—212, and 216. Camden also says
 of a Sir Christopher Blunt, a person totally distinct from Sir
 Charles Lord Montjoy; that one “ Waite had been formerly
 “ sent into Holland by *Leicester*, who was *jealous* of Blunt, to
 “ kill him” (Transf. 610, Orig. ii. 225).

I N D E X

T O

V O L. II.

A.

A INSLIE'S SUPPER—What so called, 349.
ANDERSON—Blamed, 12. Some variations in his edition of the letters and sonnets from what edition, 2.
ANJOU (Duke of)—He sent whom to court Elizabeth for him, 511. How this person courted for him, 511—513. Came over to court for himself, 513. How he courted, 513—516.

B.

BALENTINE, BALLENDEN (Patrick)—Presented a pistol to Mary's belly, when, 76.
BALFOUR (Sir James)—His name mentioned in one of the letters, 255 and 257—258. He had the original bond to Bothwell for marriage of Mary in his hands, how, 356—357. The bond also for murdering Darnly, how, 356—357.
BASTIAN—His name at full length, 290. Mentioned in the letters, 41, 283—284. His marriage with whom and when, 297—298. Some account of him, 297—298. He suspected of concern in the murder of Darnly, 305—306. He was seized on the suspicion, 306. He escaped out of prison, 306. And he and his wife, where afterwards, 306. Who his wife was, 305, 301—302, and 298.
BETON (Archibald)—Mentioned in the letters, 255. What he was, 257.
BLOUNT (Charles Lord Mountjoy) — His character, 510, 520—521.
—— (Sir Christopher)—See 511 and 522.
BOND (for marrying Bothwell to Mary)—On what day it was signed, 349—351. On what day the Cotton copy is dated, 349. Why, 350. On what, Balfour's, 349. Why, 350—351. The Cotton copy is among Cecil's papers, how, 352—354.

354. The bond shown before, where, and how, 352. Cecil's copy from whom derived, 352—353. And copied from what, 353 and 518—519. Why the subscriptions were omitted in this, 354. How Cecil set down the names, 354. Whence his informant got them, 354—355. The first of these names, 355—356, and 359—361. Balfour's copy of the bond, where, 356. How he came to have the original, 356—357. His copy not so accurate as Cecil's in what, 357—358. Balfour suppressed what names, and why, in the subscriptions, 357—358 and 361—362. The subscriptions to Cecil's copy exact, why, 362. The greater number of subscribers to the bond, were rebels, 362—367. How many subscribers there were in all, 367—368. Cecil's copy confined to what subscribers, 368—369. The plan of this bond, what, 369. Suggested by whom, 369—370. Its effects, 370. Subscriptions to it not procured by force, 370—372. Force disproved by the rebels themselves at York, 370—371. The allegation of force first invented at York, 371—372. Subscriptions not procured by a royal licence, 371—372, and 518—519. Neither force nor licence mentioned by rebel journal, 370, or by Knox, 372. And the bond proves the forgery of what letters, 372—373.
- BOTHWELL (the famous Earl of)—How many men he had with him, when he seized Mary, 429.
- BRACELETS—Worne by men in Mary's days, 159.
- BUCHANAN—Falshoods in his detection, how managed in general, 85—86. One in particular, 170. Mistakes in his history from want of memory, 25. He was a gross falsifier, 84, 85—86. Also a lewd man and an un-believer, 85. He did not forge the letters, 153 and 298. He only translated them into Latin, when, 272—275 and 289. His negligence in translating, 7, 53, 70—71, 105, 109, 121—122, 127, 129, 130, 137, 138, 139, 151—152, 179, 183, 193—194, &c. His corrections of his own Latin before publication, 195—196, 4, 7, &c. Who was his amanuensis, 352 and 353. And who translated his history first into English, 353. Another like him in 1720, 86. Useful notices in him, 293, 337, 339, 351, 393—395.

C.

- CAR (Andrew)—Would have struck Mary with a dagger, when, 76.
- CARTE—Mistakes in his history, 457—459.
- CECIL—His fair and judicious conduct, 352.

CONFESSION

CONFESSION (Paris's second)—Forgery, 101—102 and 314—323.

CURLE (Gilbert)—Mentioned in the letters, 41. Who he was, 43 and 322.

D.

DALRYMPLE—See HAILES.

DARNLY—His conduct to Mary, 43—44, 50—52, 68—69, 70, 73, 75—79, 94—95, 104—105, 162—172, 179—180, 186—188, and 189. His conduct to others, 104, 181, 182, 183, 188, 189.

————— His illness, what, 62—66. Why he was not present at the baptism of his son, 172. Who were always plotting against his life, 190—191. His intent to go abroad, explained, 198—207.

DOUGLAS (George)—Struck Rizzio with a dagger over Mary's shoulder, 76.

E.

ELIZABETH (Queen)—Published the letters ascribed to Mary, principally to ruin Mary's character in point of chastity, 450. Yet Elizabeth was unchaste, while Mary was not, 450. Elizabeth solemnly pretended to live and die a virgin, when, 451—452. Persisted in pretending, 452—454. Yet she had Leicester for her paramour, 453—456. A letter of Mary's concerning her amours, how written and how preserved, 456—469. The letter in the original, and in a translation, 470—489. The violent part of her character illustrated, 480—481, 482—483, 489—490. She had an ulcer in one leg, 484. Was a great swearer, 488 and 519. Her vanity, 491—498. Her violence in private life, 498—500. Her immodesty, 500—516 and 519—521. She fond of what kind of pace in riding, 494. Vindicated against what censure, 500—501. She not formed as other women are, how, 501—502. Niggardly to all but whom, 507—508, 519. Her character summed up, 416—417.

ESSEX (Earl of)—His character, 499, 516, 521.

G.

GLENCAIRN (Earl of)—His character and conduct, 360.

GOODALL (Mr.)—Mistakes in his defence of Mary, 77, 135—136, 172, 189, 273, 375.—Useful notices in it, 70—71, 77, 85, 122, 127, 132, 133—134, 136—137, 137, 193, 194,

194, 195—196, 216, 331—334, and 344—345. His edition of the letters and sonnets, what, 2. How varied from, here, 2.

H.

HAILES (Sir David Dalrymple, Lord)—The author of an anonymous pamphlet against Mary, 439—441.

HATTON (Sir C.)—His character, 505—508, 519.

HOLLINSHEAD—Useful notices in his history, 19, 30.

HUME (Mr.)—Censured, 143, 232, 304, and 397—401.

HUNTLY (Earl of)—Murray's hostility, and Mary's attachment to his father and family, 393—394. Mary's reversal of his own attainder, 420—421. His escorting Mary to and from Stirling, 421—422, 424—425, 429. His character vindicated from the rebel imputations, 431—435.

J.

JOACHIM—Mentioned in the letters, 39 and 41, 283 and 290.

JOSEPH—Mentioned in the letters, 41, 283, and 290.

K.

KERALIO (Mademoiselle de)—A new history of Elizabeth lately published by her in French, 45.

KNOX (John)—An anecdote of his concerning Mary's recovery from her illness in 1566, 168. Useful notice in him, 337.

L.

LEICESTER (Robert Earl of)—His character, 453—455, 502—505, 519.

LENOX (Earl of)—Generally resided at Glasgow, 12. The mention of his name a proof of forgery, 18—25. Again, 27—29, 29—32.

LETHINGTON (William Maitland the younger of)—The mention of his name in letter 6th, a proof of forgery in the letter, 388—390. How Lethington, when he forged the letters, came to admit this proof of the forgery, 390—396. How he came also to admit such vulgarity into them, 391—392. His conduct in Scotland at first, 393—394. His conduct at York afterwards, 394—395. His character, 395—396. Concerned in a design of poisoning Bothwell, 63. Perhaps in the act of poisoning Darnly, 62—63.

I N D E X.

LETTERS (ascribed to Mary)—*First* letter, in Scotch, Latin, and French, 3—233. And proved to be translated out of Scotch into French, through the Latin, 4—7. Another proof, 8—9 and 9—11. Another, 11—12. Another, 13—14. Another, 16. Another, 17. Another, 18. Another, 25. Another, 27. Others, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 44, 45—46, 47, 53. Others, 62, 66, 67, 67—68, 70—71, 72, 73, 74, and 80. Others, 91, 92, 99, 100, 102, 103, 105, 107, 109, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118. Others, 121—122, 122, 125, 126, 129, 129—130. Others, 133, 133—134, 136—137, 137, 138, 139, 139—140, 140, 142, 143. Others, 151, 151—152, 154, 155, 159, 160, 162. Others, 172—174, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 183, 184. Others, 186, 191, 193, 194, 195, 209, 210, 212. Others, 214, 216, 220, 221, 223, 227, 229, 230, 232. Yet not through the Latin, as this now stands printed, but as it had been corrected before, 4, 7, 8, 15, 34, 35, 40, 45, 99, 116, 161, 177, 214, 229.

No French copy different from the present, 9—11.

This letter proved from false facts in it a forgery, 16, 18—25, 27—32, 47—49, 50—52, 53, 53—54, 57—60. From others, 62—66, 68—69, 70, 73, 74, 75—78. From others, 82—84, 86—90, 90, 92—96, 96—97. From others, 99—100, 101—102, 103, 104—105, 107, 109—112, 114, 114—115. From others, 120—122, 126—127, 136, 155—156, 162—172. From others, 183, 184—185, 186, 214, 217—218. From others, 222—223, 226—227.

This letter proved a forgery from its absurdities, 18, 25, 27—29, 32, 36—37, 37—39, 40—41, 41—42, 42—43, 46, 46—47. From others, 64—66, 66—67, 81—82, 96—97, 103—104, 107—109. From others, 109—112, 114, 118, 123—125, 130—131, 132, 133, 136, 138, 140, 142. From others, 155, 158, 158—159, 159—160, 162, 176—177, 181, 184—185, 189, 194, 194—195, 197—198. From others, 209, 209—210, 210, 211—212, 214—215, 215—216, 218—219, 219—220, 220, 223, 224, 229—230, 230.

This letter proved a forgery from its vulgarities of expression, 127, 138, 151—153. From its variations, 27, 47—49, 154—155, 172—174. From its mention of Bothwell as a third person, 232. And from its mention of the lodgings at Edinburgh, 232—233.

This letter was written in part just before August 1567, 217—218. Ordered by the writer to be burned, 224. The memorandums in the middle of the letter, 143—144, and 220—230. Those at the end, 232. Some true and important incidents in it,

it, 43—44, 65, 132, 179—180, 181, 182, 183, 188—189, 189, 190—191, 229, and 147.

Second letter, in Scotch, Latin, and French, 234—259. Proved to be translated out of Scotch into French, through the Latin, 237—239, 239, 245, 247, 247—248, 257, 259.

No French copy different from the present, 237—239.

This letter proved from false facts in it a forgery, 236—237, 239, 239—240, 258—259. From its absurdities, 245, 248—251. From its variations, 241, 247—248, 252. And from its date, 241—243, 252—255.

This letter placed how in Buchanan's Latin Detection, 235—236. How, in his English, 235. How, in his French, 236. Bothwell's absence from Edinburgh at this time, plainly indicated by the letter, 236—237, 258—259. The general reason of this absence, 239—240.

Third letter, in Scotch, Latin, and French, 260—293. Proved to be translated out of Scotch into French, through the Latin, 261, 265, 268, 270, 270—272, 273, 275, 276, 278, 279—280, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285—286, 288—289, 289. Yet not through the Latin, as this now stands printed, but as it had been corrected before, 260—261, 261.

No French copy different from the present, 262—264.

This letter proved from false facts in it a forgery, 260—261, 267, 280, 290—291. From its absurdities, 265, 266—267, 267, 267—268, 282, 283, 286—288. From its variations, 270—273, 273—275, 278.

This letter probably added to the original two from Glasgow, when, 268. Buchanan appears to have made his translation, when, 274—275. Three attendants of the Queen's specified, 290. A strong proof of folly in the English commissioners at York, 286.

Fourth letter, in Scotch and French, 294—313. Proved to be translated out of Scotch into French, 298—300, 300—301, 306—308, 308, 310, 311. Proved from false facts in it a forgery, 295—296, 302, 305. From its absurdities, 301—302, 303, 303—304, 311, 312, 312—313.

This letter added to the three preceding, some time after the three were made, 295—296. Why added, 296—298. No Latin copy of it now existing, 298.

All these four letters proved in general from chronology, to be forgeries, 314—323.

Fifth letter, in Scotch and French, 324—347. Proved to be translated out of Scotch into French, 326, 327, 329, 330, 331, 331—334, 335—336, 337—339, 340, 340—341, 342, 342—343, 344—345, 346, 346—347. Proved from false facts in it a forgery, 325—326, 326, 327, 327—328, 329—330,

334—

334—335, 337, 339—340, 340, 342, 343, 344, 346, 347, and 348—373.

Huntly escorted the Queen to and from Stirling, 328, 330, 333, 334. The Queen owned by the letter to have staid only a short time at Stirling, 337—338, 340. The Queen taken ill on her return, 339.

Sixth letter, in Scotch and French, 374—396. Proved to be translated out of Scotch into French, 379, 381, 381—382, 382, 385—386. Proved from false facts in it a forgery, 375, 377, 377—378, 383—384, 384—385, 386—387, 387—388, 388—390, 390. From its absurdities, 376, 376—377, 378, 379, 381, 384—385.

The supposition, that the French copy of the letters took the French sentences prefixed to the Scotch copy, disproved by a fact, 375—376. How Lethington came to make such mistakes in this and the other forged letters, 390—396.

Seventh letter, in Scotch and French, 417—430. Proved to be translated out of Scotch into French, 424, 425, 426. Proved from false facts in it a forgery, 418—419, 419—420, 421, 421—423, 425—426, 426, 427, 427—428, 428, 429, 430. From its absurdities, 425—426, 429—430, 430.

This letter added to the two preceding, some time after the two had been made, 418—419.

Eighth letter, in Scotch all, in French a small part, 436—449. Proved to be translated out of Scotch into French, 437—438. Proved from false facts in it a forgery, 437, 441, 442—443, 447—448. From its absurdities, 437, 444, 445—446, 446—447, 447.

The French of this letter ends, where, 438.

All these four letters proved forgeries by the sixth, 378—379. By the obscurity of meaning in all, 307. And no proof of a French original to any of them, from the French idioms or French words in them, 314—323. All the letters here published, from what edition, and how, 2.

LICENCE (from Mary, for signing what bond)—See WARRANT.

LIVINGSTON (Lord)—Why called Monsieur in the letters, 151.

M.

MARY (Queen)—A flattering passage in Shakespeare applied to her by whom, unjustly, 491—492. Her letter concerning Elizabeth's amours, 479. Her journey to the King as soon as she knew of his illness, 54—60. Her conduct to him while she was with him, 53, 59, 184, &c. Her conduct to

M m

him

him before, 43—44, 51—52, 53—60, 83—84, 162—172. Her freedom from deceit, 126—127. Her activity in riding, 494. Her handwriting badly imitated in the letters, 132, 224. Her workmanship badly imitated in a bracelet, 219. Her pain in her side badly mimicked, 248—250. Changed into what by Buchanan, 250. What it really was, 250—251. Her superiority to what, 486. The expectations of her succeeding Elizabeth, 486—487.

MELVILL (Sir James)—His memoirs corrected, 480—481. Quoted, 453—455.

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKER (on the letters)—Censured, 10, 13, 42, 107, 130, 133—134, 177, 189—190, under the first letter; 261—262, 270, 271—272, 273—274, 278—279, 284—286, 288—289, under the second and third; 299—300, 300—301, 306—308, 308, 310, 311, 311—312, under the fourth; 326, 327, 330—331, 331—334, 335—336, 338—339, 343—344, 345, 346, 346—347, under the fifth; 379—380, 382, 385—386, 388, 390, under the sixth; 398—399, 401—402, 402, 403—404, 406, 406—408, 411, 411—414, 414—415, 424, 430, under the seventh; 437—438, 438—439, under the eighth. Followed, 401. Who he is, 439—441.

MURRAY (the famous Earl of)—The first who subscribed the bond for Bothwell's marriage to Mary, 354—356, 359—361.

P.

PARIS (one of Mary's servants)—Mentioned in first letter, 41. In the eighth, 442. Some account of him, 46. His real name, 315. The second of his pretended confessions proved a forgery, 314—323. Yet it proves the forgery of the four letters from Glasgow, 316, 316—317, 318, 319, 319—320, 320, 321, 322, 323.

POISONING—Dreadfully common at this period in Scotland, 63—64.

R.

RANDOLPH—The date in a letter of his corrected, 29.

RALEIGH (Sir W.)—His character, 508—510, 519.

READ (John)—Who he was, 352—353. He gave Cecil a copy of the bond for marrying Bothwell to Mary, 352. Whence he took it, 353. He delivered also the subscriptions to it verbally, 354. Whence he derived these, 355.

RERES (Lady)—Mary's constant attendant, 151.

RIZZIO (David)—The manner of his murder, 75—79. The persons peculiarly concerned, 76—77. A mistake concerning him corrected, 77. A new light thrown upon the motives and plan of his murder, by whom, 77. His brother what under Mary, 290. Suspected of Darnly's murder, 290. But escaped out of Scotland, 290.

ROBERTSON (Dr.)—His history or dissertation refuted or censured, 4, 4—7, 8—9, 9—10, 10—11, 53, 54—60, 63, 64—65, 69, 79, 115, 140, 143—144, 172, 184—185, 188, 198—207, 214, 214—215, 232, under the first letter; 238, 243, 248—251, under the second; 262—264, under the third; 304, under the fourth; 375—376, under the sixth; 446, 447, under the eighth. He borrows from Buchanan, 54, 447. Followed or praised, 68, 78—80, 186—188, 211—212, 241, 261 and 294.

ROLSON—Sent by Elizabeth to dishonour Mary, how, 480.

RUXBIE—What an instrument in the hands of Murray and Elizabeth, against Mary, 480—481.

S.

SCOTCH (College at Paris)—The papers there, relating to Mary, by whom deposited, 44. How kept there, formerly, 44. How, now, 44—45. What have been published, and by whom, 45. A new history of Mary intended to be composed from the remaining papers, by whom, 45. Some advice presumed to be given him, 45. And his real intention explained, 518—519.

SIMIER—Who he was, 511. What he did with Elizabeth, 511—513.

STIRLING—By it was the regular way from Edinburgh to Glasgow, 316.

STUART (Dr.)—A mistake in his history of Mary, 172, 349, 358.

SWEARING—Very common with Elizabeth, 488 and 519. She had a customary oath, 519. What it was, 519. To aver upon faith and honour was then considered, as an innocent swearing, 487—488.

T.

TYTLER (Mr.)—A mistake in his defence of Mary, 349. An useful notice in it, 13. Another, 143—144. Another, 314. Another, 401. Another, 401—402. Another, 402—403. Another, 403—404. Another, 405. Another, 410—411.

411. Another, 411. Another, 411—412. Another, 414—415.

W.

WARRANT (from Mary, for signing the bond to recommend Bothwell as a husband to her)—When pretended to be given, 353. When a copy of it was first pretended to be shown, 370—371. Inconsistent with the compulsion also pretended, 371. Shown by the rebels themselves to be spurious, 371. Again shown by its own absurdity, 371.

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